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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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OPOLE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

General Preparation for Party Plenum

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 31 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by R. Augustyn: "What is the Awareness Among Opole Province Inhabitants? Broad Preparations for PZPR Province Committee Plenum; Studies by Scientists; Polls and Consultations; How to Translate Ideology Into the Language of Concrete Action?"]

[Text] For several months now the Ideological Commission of the Province PZPR Committee jointly with the Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination (WOKI) has been engaged in broad--on an unprecedented scale--preparations for the June plenary deliberations of the Province Committee which are to be devoted to tasks of party echelons and organizations as regards the ideological-political strengthening of the party and shaping of socialist awareness among the inhabitants of Opole Province. Province Committee members will come to the deliberations armed with a substantial arsenal of analytic materials that will include factual data such as an analysis of the deployment of party forces or the development of the political situation in Opole Province during 1980-1983 as well as reports on studies conducted by scientists. Prof Wladyslaw Jacher of Silesian University will present the results of his research into the awareness and political culture of the inhabitants of Opole Province. Prof Tadeusz Gospodarek of the Opole Higher Party School [WSP] will discuss findings on the political awareness of the large-industry working class a compared with results of poll questionnaires recently distributed among 22 PZPR plant committees.

The findings of a poll of POP (OOP) [basic and branch party organization] secretaries, to which as many as 320 secretaries had responded, also will be presented. The report itself of the executive board also will be based on public consultations, for its theses were discussed on those days at 11 meetings of the propaganda aktiv of Regional Party Work Centers. The possibility of grassroots consultation on the draft resolution of that plenum by a similar procedure also is being considered.

The materials and documents mentioned above will also be discussed by the Executive Board of the Province Committee and the Committee's Ideological Commission. But even now the comrades at WOKI believe that these data produce a highly revealing picture, though one that is more linked to the diagnosis of what has been and is than to the prognosis of what is to be. Thus, further preparations for the plenum are to focus on drafting the resolution and eventually a schedule of concrete actions. For such is the logic and nature of ideological matters that they are couched in great and lofty words but hardly handy to practitioners. Thus, what should be done to avoid, this time, generalized appeals that "the mountain may not give birth to a mouse," i.e. to avoid any pigeonholing

of the aforementioned comprehensive and laborious preparations and turn them into a living resolution that would be implemented and monitored at every level of party activity by persons made accountable for this? Such is the question which has to be answered prior to that plenary session by not only the session's organizers but also all Province Committee members.

#### Assessment of Local Administrative Organs

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 14 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by E.P.: "The Resolution is Only the Beginning"]

[Text] /Late in May of last year the PZPR Province Committee performed a comprehensive evaluation of the performance of local organs of state administration in our region./ [printed in boldface]

The deliberations were preceded by a broad familiarization with the situation, with the lights and shadows in the functioning of the administration, which after August [1980] had been the subject of many unjustified and wily attacks. The Plenum adopted a resolution intended to improve the effectiveness and strengthen the position of local administrative organs. A number of extremely specific recommendations and tasks was presented.

After a year, an answer can thus be sought to the question of how is that resolution being implemented and what effects it is producing.

One of the main tasks posed to the administration was streamlining the procedure for implementing the resolutions of people's councils, the recommendations of council commissions, the interpellations of councilmen and the proposals of elements of community self-government. In this respect the Opole Province Governor has taken a number of steps ordering and disciplining the agencies subordinate to him. Among other things, at a special training conference with heads of the departments of main city and gmina [parish] offices, gmina office secretaries and inspectors for organizational affairs at Province Office departments, attention was drawn to the need for a complete ordering and systematic conduct of the bookkeeping of resolutions, recommendations and interpellations as well as for their prompt and thorough implementation. Pursuant to the province governor's decision, all office inspections are to include a thorough verification of the manner in which the administration implements the resolutions, recommendations and interpellations of the representative bodies. The province governor pays regular attention to and works on the problem of the superior standing of the councils with respect to the offices. This was a matter of not just words but deeds. The province governor punished four department directors at the Province Office and three chiefs by depriving them of part of the "13th month pay" for delays in resolving matters along the council-administration line. The councils themselves, too, are beginning to evaluate regularly the manner in which the administration implements their resolutions, recommendations and interpellations.

Based on my own experience as a councilman, I am aware that these matters are difficult: many bad habits have to be stopped and mutual respect has to be learned by the partners.

Another task contained in the Province Committee's resolution is the greater openness of the administration's work. Roughly speaking, this concerns maintaining broader contacts between functionaries and local communities. Without resorting to hurrah-optimism, it is worth noting that in this respect, too, some changes to the better are occurring. In most gminas the principle has been introduced that functionaries subordinate to the gmina chief are to participate in general village meetings or open meetings of the basic party organizations (POP). At most basic-level administrative offices, functionaries have the duty of maintaining regular contact with individual villages. To assure complete monitoring of the fate of proposals made at rural and community self-government meetings, the Province Office and the gminas and cities began to keep special registries. The principle has also been adopted that proposals should be acted upon within one month. To strengthen the contacts between the Province Office and the local people's councils, the heads of the Province Office were placed under the obligation of attending council sessions. The Opole Province Governor has also recommended to the employees of his office and subordinate offices to obtain evaluations of their performance from the POPs and local youth and self-government organizations not just at inspection times but as part of all local activities.

The functioning of the administration is greatly influenced by the qualifications of its employees. Systematic advanced training of functionaries of the administration is particularly essential now that such major and numerous changes are being introduced in laws and regulations. The office of the province governor has drafted a systematic program for the professional training of administrative employees which postulates, among other things, attendance of cyclic courses by all functionaries of basic-level state offices. Course training itself has been enriched with socio-political topics as well as topics dealing with the organization of labor, and it has to be passed by all newly hired functionaries. At all Province Office departments and basic-level offices, moreover, professional training is provided. Office chiefs support and sponsor financially the participation of their subordinates in scientific sessions, symposiums and conferences organized by the Chief Technical Organization, the Polish Economic Society and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration. Special emphasis was also placed on instructional assistance to Province Office employees. Since August 1982 instructional trips have begun to be coordinated and once a month analyzed. Last year 3,142 such trips took place.

#### Party Executive Board Meeting

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 17 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Wl. Kosinski: "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee: Preparations for Harvesting and Grain Procurements; Joint Deliberations With the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party; Assessment of Party Work at AZOTY and BLACHOWNIA Plants"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee has, jointly with the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) examined the plan of organizational preparations for harvesting as well as for procurements of rape and grain from this year's harvest, presented by the Department of Agriculture, Food Management and Forestry under the Opole Province Office.

The grain harvesting campaign is highly important to agriculture and the entire food economy. An efficient organization of the work of the enterprises, organizations and institutions serving agriculture will significantly influence the course of that campaign. Recently Polish agriculture has become enriched with new machinery and equipment, including many tractors and combine harvesters. Nevertheless, owing to major shortages of spare parts, especially batteries and tires, as well as of cord for sheafbinders and baling presses, the situation has not improved markedly compared with last year's harvest, and in some respects (cord) it has even deteriorated. Considering the actual state of preparations for the harvest and of the procurements of rape and grain from the 1983 harvest, the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee adopted the presented program upon recommending that special attention be paid to direct procurements of grain during and immediately after harvesting operations. The proper preparation of storage and transport facilities is becoming an important problem. This problem should be worked out in detail by the province team for transport affairs. The transport plan should also allow for assigning tractors for the liming of soils, because the harvest season is a time when about 10 percent of cropland surface should be limed. Broad steps should be taken to obtain larger quantities of cord for sheafbinders and baling presses. The rural market should be supplied adequately with cooling beverages. Child care should be organized in cooperation with ZMW [Rural Youth Union] circles.

(-) The Opole Province Governor will place gmina authorities under the obligation of drafting schedules for the utilization of combine harvesters and other equipment needed to harvest grain within their gminas, with allowance for transfers of machinery among agricultural sectors. He will also obligate the agencies responsible for grain procurements to fulfill completely the contract plan by the end of June of this year.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee placed the basic echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL under the obligation of evaluating the preparations for the grain and rape harvesting campaign and continually monitoring its progress. The effectiveness of harvesting operations will also be monitored by branch trade unions of farmers, particularly as regards the harvesting and procurement conditions and the grading of grain and rape.

An evaluation of the performance of plant PZPR committees at the AZOTY Feliks Dzierzynski Nitrogen Works and the BLACHOWNIA Chemical Works (ZCh) in Kedzierzyn-Kozle has been prepared by teams appointed by a resolution of the Province Committee Secretariat. The teams conducted comprehensive inspections of both plant party organizations. They obtained information from talks with first secretaries of the inspected branch party organizations (OOPs), executive board members, OOP and KZ [plant party committee] aktiv, members of the Polish Socialist Youth Union (ZSMP) and trade-union boards, as well from records of attendance at party meetings and intra-party documents. The plant party organization at AZOTY has 1,186 members and candidate members belonging to 32 POPs and at BLACHOWNIA, 708 members and candidate members. The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee studied the evaluations provided by the inspection teams and analyzed and assessed the activities of both plant party organizations. It found that during the current term of office of the functionaries of these organizations party activities have become more energetic and various steps were initiated to enhance

the party's authority in those plants. Special emphasis, as regards the party organization at AZOTY, is deserved by the correct development of trade unions as well as of worker self-government, and the influence of party members on their ideological outlook as well as on a set of measures intended to popularize and apply the economic reform. Also worth noting is the active participation of party members in creating the plant conservation and anti-inflation program and the good work being done by the TRYBUNA LUDU discussion club. The PZPR Plant Committee at the BLACHOWNIA ZCh has implemented its tasks pursuant to the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the resolutions of the superior party echelons. In party activities the greatest emphasis has been placed on consolidating the party's ranks as well as on socio-economic life at the plant. At the same time, however, the Executive Board of the Province Committee found that party activities were and remain beset by shortcomings and defects, chiefly as regards: adherence to party discipline, cooperation among members of KZ and OOP executive board, ideological training, cooperation of the OOP executive board with department heads and middle-level supervisors, activities of party groups and the development and strengthening of the trade-union movement. The activities of the party organization at AZOTY display shortcomings that chiefly consist in the irregular work of the basic party organizations, activities of party groups and the intra-party record-keeping. The detailed proposals and recommendations contained in the resolutions will be discussed at the next plenary sessions of the plant party echelons at AZOTY and BLACHOWNIA.

#### Province Plenary Sessions

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 2-3 Jul 83 pp 1,2,3

[Recorded by Ryszard Augustyn and Andrzej Szatan: "Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee: Only a Strong Party Can Influence the Mind of the Public"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The members and deputy members of the Province Committee, WKKP [Province Party Control Commission] and WKR [Province Audit Commission] members who regularly attend Province Committee sessions and invited guests from opinion-shaping groups along with Central Committee secretary Marian Orzechowski, attended yesterday a Province Committee session concerned with the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the ideological-political strengthening of the party and shaping a socialist consciousness among the population of Opole Province. This plenum--as emphasized in his opening address by Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Province Committee--has been prepared for many months, with the preparations resulting in the provision of extensive materials to Province Committee members and the participation of broad party circles in the consultations on the theses of the report and the draft plenary resolution.

The presentation of the report of the Province Committee's Executive Board by secretary Jan Chawarski (an extensive summary of that report is published on page 3 of this issue), was followed by discussion during which 16 members and invited guests took the floor (their comments are published on pages 2-3). This was a broad and many-faceted discussion, worthy of the thorough and arduous preparations for this plenum--preparations that may be used as a model by other party organizations--as stated by secretary M. Orzechowski. A more extensive discussion of the significant part of his speech, concluding the deliberations of the Province Committee, will be published in next Monday's issue of 'TRYBUNA OPOLSKA.' The resolution that was unanimously adopted by the

Province Committee and provides guideline tasks for party echelons and organizations will also be published this coming Monday.

Taking the floor toward the plenum's end, Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Province Committee, also declared that the preparations for and course of the plenum demonstrated that its topic is justified and timely. The consideration of this topic even before it is discussed by the Central Committee may be regarded as a contribution of our province party organization to the preparations for the 13th Central Committee Plenum. The Opole members of the Central Committee will make sure that many aspects of today's lively discussion will also be reflected in the deliberations of the Central Committee. For as we stated during the discussion, the party's ideological life is both an immeasurably important and an immeasurably difficult topic. It had been beset by many mistakes and shortcomings as well as illusory oversimplifications, and it has become formalized. This was exploited by the enemy. Nowadays we confront the need to create a monolithic front of ideological struggle in which party echelons and opinion-shaping groups, and primarily all party organizations and members, will focus their efforts on promoting the struggle for a socialist social consciousness of the society. The element of the political struggle will henceforth be constantly present--for there is no longer room for complacency ensuing from holding a monopoly over political wisdom. This will not either be a struggle by activists alone--it has to be undertaken by all party members in all the communities in which they operate, and where, too, they must find and win allies for that struggle. For--as stated by a worker from the Nysa ZUP [expansion unknown]--the enemy derives his strength from our weakness, and the longer we remain weak the longer we will have to deal with his destructive influence. Concluding his speech, comrade Mroz assured those present that the leadership of the province party organization intends to utilize successively the accomplishments of this plenum in daily work on all sectors of its activity rather than all at once. It will likewise offer systematically information on that work.

Yesterday's plenum also considered several organizational matters. Owing to an official assignment abroad, Edmund Kalita resigned from the post of member of the Province Committee's Executive Board and the Province Committee. The plenum accepted his resignation; it also accepted the requests for resignation from membership in the Province Committee made by Tadeusz Madej, owing to relocation to a new address, and Mieczyslaw Latawski, owing to poor health. The vacancies were filled by secret balloting-- the newly elected member of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee is Aleksander Gregorius, chief of the city and gmina of Byczyn, while the newly elected members of the Province Committee are: Mieczyslaw Drozd of Brzeg, Stanislaw Mrowiec of Grodkow and Bronislawa Smolarek of Opole.

In connection with the growing importance of the party's tasks as regards the maintenance of law and order and the functioning of the state administration, the plenum unanimously accepted the recommendation of the Executive Board of the Province Committee that the Committee establish a Department of Administration (which will not entail an increase in the Province Committee's staff). The plenum approved the nomination of Zygmunt Delinowski to the post of director of the new department. (Biographical information on the newly elected officials will be published in the column "The PZPR--People, Facts, Opinions" in the next issue.)

The Plenum also approved the agenda for the three plenary sessions of the Province Committee scheduled for the second half of this year. No extraneous recommendations were made, and neither were any comments presented for the record concerning the report submitted to Province Committee members on the activities of the Committee's Executive Board, Secretariat and problem-oriented commissions as well as on the manner in which the recommendations of the previous plenum had been handled.

The deliberations ended with singing "The International."

/Zbigniew Krupinski, candidate member of the Central Committee, teacher from Ozimek:/

He viewed positively the materials for discussion presented to the plenum participants and declared that ideological issues actually are among the most important issues to the party's activity. He viewed as disturbing the system of values operating in our life, which gives priority to material matters, as well as the tendency of some party members to proclaim ideological slogans without personally identifying with them.

In his opinion, the state of consciousness of those working in the so-called opinion-shaping groups is unsatisfactory, and the same applies to the cultural community, the officialdom and the managerial cadre. Z. Krupinski also declared that Marxist philosophers rarely consider in their scientific works such problems as the formation and shaping of socialist consciousness as well as issues of concern to particular milieux. This gap has been filled by foreign literature. This also applies to the teaching of history, with the teachers avoiding the discussion of so-called difficult issues in their conversations with students. The speaker also included among the deficiencies of our pedagogy the underestimation of the role of the family, the work establishment and the peer group.

Z. Krupinski also devoted much space in his speech to aspects of the preparation of higher-school graduates for educational work, which he considered unsatisfactory.

/Zbigniew Romanik, first secretary of the Wolczyn City-Gmina PZPR Committee:/

The size of the party's membership does not at all have to be decisive to its strength. What is more important is the consciousness and activism of all PZPR members. The years 1980-1982 revealed considerable passivity among party members and lack of faith in the strength of the party's influence on society.

It can be now stated, without hurrah-optimism, that the activities of the PZPR have revived somewhat, but this is due to the increased activism of party organization secretaries and executive board members. On the other hand, rank-and-file members of basic party organizations (POPs) are much less willing to speak their minds and participate in POP activities.

The speaker also commented that the level of the political knowledge of party members is extremely low. Often they lack adequate knowledge about the party, the society, the state and socialism. Hence too they could not and cannot influence properly the undecided part of the public, let alone the opponents of our system of society and state.

Z. Romanik also discussed improper attitudes of certain party members, including even first secretaries of POPs and the need to improve the traditional forms of ideological training.

/Maria Pedyczak, secretary of the Province Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPP-R) in Opole:/

The discussion of ideological topics by the province party echelon is an important and necessary but also extremely difficult matter, because it requires a thorough analysis of numerous factors determining this issue.

With regard to the findings of a poll of the plenum participants on the socio-political consciousness of the population of Opole Province, M. Pedyczak declared that it may have produced the impression that that population only barely admits the usefulness of socio-political activism. But reality appears to refute this conclusion, considering that in our province more than 300,000 persons--that is, every third inhabitant of Opole region--belong to various organizations which nearly all include in their programs of action measures in behalf of local communities. In these organizations the party and the authorities met with the greatest support during the extremely difficult period of the last 15 or so months. This group of civic-minded persons provides a good substrate for energizing party activities. It is also true that we forget these persons too often, showing them appreciation only on special occasions.

In conclusion, M. Pedyczak discussed the difficulties encountered by the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in its activities and the measures it is taking to popularize the achievements of Soviet culture and art.

/Leopold Raclawski, candidate member of the Province Committee, deputy commander of the 10th Sudeten Armored Division imenia Heroes of the Soviet Army in Opole:/.

His speech dealt with forms of socio-ideological work among the division's personnel. This work is based on regular contacts among the party organization, the division's command, the ZSMP and the non-party military personnel. One of the effects it produced has been the admission of several dozen candidates from individual troop units to membership in the party this year.

The speaker also described the military's cooperation with schools, work establishments, educational institutions, the militia, the Opole Women's League and the Polish Scouts Union [ZHP], stressing that it promotes the correct shaping of the patriotic and internationalist education of the troops. He also recalled the military's commitment to the region's socio-economic life, as exemplified by its broad assistance to agriculture (harvesting, machinery repair). "We soldiers," L. Raclawski stated, "by undertaking the duty of defending the country on 13 December 1981, also undertook the duty of defending socialism." In conclusion, he suggested that during the second half of this year the Province Committee should consistently monitor the implementation by party organizations of the adopted resolutions and the settlement of complaints and proposals coming from the public.

/Tadeusz Bednarczyk, journalist, first secretary of the POP at the editorial board of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA :/

It is the duty of journalists, who stride in the vanguard of the ideological front, to participate in shaping public opinion and socialist social consciousness and to combat rumors, oversimplifications and ignorance of principal facts of the present era and history. The catalogue of the newspaper's duties includes criticism of all that violates legal and moral order, but the newspaper itself is not immune to mistakes and blunders. The speaker continued: "But we always profess the principle that any situation can be explained and objectivized. 'TRYBUNA OPOLSKA' publishes letters from any readers, and journalists do not claim the right of final judgment on and best familiarity with all topics."

Discussing the coming publication schedule, T. Bednarczuk stated that, while criticizing negative phenomena and attitudes, 'TRYBUNA OPOLSKA' will at the same time popularize positive attitudes. For the editorial team bears in mind that this newspaper should become a tribune of people who can act effectively under difficult conditions. He stressed, though, that being the only daily in the province, this newspaper cannot meet the expectations of all the social groups and communities.

/Ryszard Kordasiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at Coke-Oven Works in Zdzieszowice, member of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP]:/

Discussing training activities, he declared that quite often the lecturer encounters considerable difficulty in obtaining rapport with the audience when discussing ideological matters at meetings, this being due to the aktiv's insufficient political knowledge. He also declared that PZPR organizations should devote the vacation season to preparing themselves properly for the new school year of party training. Further, he announced that party lecturers at plants lack simple, concise and understandable training materials on Marxism and Leninism.

He also informed those present about the state of the plant party organization, whose ranks have clearly become consolidated. It already is holding regular meetings, although attendance is not satisfactory at all branch party organizations [OOP].

/Eugeniusz Broczkowski, director, Department of Culture and Art, Opole Province Administration:/

A major difficulty encountered by the staff of cultural centers is the low level of the support they receive from representatives of local administration and socio-political organizations. It often happens that the heads of houses of culture and clubs are left to their own resources. The speaker also declared that the social conditions and living standards of cultural staffs are causing personnel problems, chiefly in the rural communities. A chance for improvement is afforded--in E. Broczkowski's opinion--by the fund for the development of culture that has been set up last year and that facilitates the implementation of program targets.

The speaker also discussed the losses sustained by Polish culture in the last 2 years when proposals were made to shut down houses of culture, libraries, etc. During that period, more than 700 creative teams and groups were disbanded. More than 7,000 persons ceased to engage in cultural-educational activities.

/Slawomir Krupa, Central Committee member, employee of the Kedzierzyn Nitrogen Works:/

The basic question to which an answer has to be found is what should be done and how in order that the party may grow stronger and be capable of exercising its role in society. For at present the condition of the party and its individual organizations is still not the best. In the opinion of S. Krupa, the chief criterion for evaluating the party should be the activism of PZPR members in their communities rather than the size of membership.

In the speaker's opinion also the task number one in the party's activities for the next few months should be concern for a correct implementation of the adopted resolutions and decisions, and for monitoring that implementation.

In conclusion, S. Krupa also declared: "We lost our militancy, talent for riposte and the ability to defend the party's interests. The situation in the last few months has made us too humble, incapable of defending our rationale."

/Marian Magdziarz, first secretary of the Prudnik City-Gmina PZPR Committee:/

The domestic situation demonstrates that our party is strong and ready to exercise the leading role in our country. Significant signs of domination of the socio-political situation have appeared. The experiences of the last 15 or so months demonstrate that party functionaries are insufficiently familiar with Marxist-Leninist knowledge. At present we still act in many cases as inspirers and organizers rather than ideologists of the party. Our apparatus has to prove itself. The speaker discussed aspects of the education of youth, proposing that a subject relating to the propaedeutics of Marxist philosophy be introduced in the school curricula. He pointed out that non-school milieux are part of the educational process. Recently educational problems have arisen, especially at academic high schools, whose students most often come from milieux of the intelligentsia and often present surprising attitudes and views.

There can be no make-believe work in education. Special emphasis should be placed on inculcating patriotic and internationalist attitudes and educating in the spirit of peace. The peace movement should be lively. The rising generation should be sensitized to the need to defend the country's frontiers, because nothing is given to us forever. It is necessary for party members to rise to the occasion when participating in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the renascent trade unions.

/Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski, chairman, Province Party Control Commission:/

The speaker discussed Church-state relations and the question of religious influences on party members. The PZPR does not combat religion. In the climate of national accord, the PZPR does not want to create any antagonisms between believers and nonbelievers. But the Constitution prescribes separation of church and state. The party admits religious believers to its ranks, but it must conduct world-outlook and ideological work with them. We do not want to take any drastic steps against believing workers or peasants. But there must be a differentiation of requirements. Activists, persons holding party offices, the party leadership must display an atheist attitude. Often, however, a two-faced attitude is observed. Many students, children of our activists, have displayed a hostile attitude toward the socialist state. At present statutory requirements

must be clearly spelled out to the party aktiv: they themselves and their families should display a secular attitude.

Further, the chairman of the WKKP, reported that the Pope's visit was followed by a number of meetings in various communities at which it was asked whether we have not been making too many concessions and sacrificed too much. Why is it that in certain communities to this very day the hymn "O Lord, grant us the return of a free fatherland!" is sung in churches? During the Pope's visit we saw a emblem of a crown-bearing Polish eagle [the communists have removed the crown from the eagle representing the Polish national emblem--translator's note]. Is that just? Why is it that the emblem of militant Poland has been included in the decorations? The local aktiv are asking how long shall we tolerate attacks by clergymen against socialism and our state? Who among 'TRYBUNA OPOLSKA' reporters will counter the attacks by clergymen against our reality? Is there anyone so brave?

In our times many people are afraid to admit belonging to the party. They are exposed to chicaneries in some places. In hospitals, clergymen importunedly upset patients. As known, there is a shortage of state building materials, yet churches are being built on a mass scale. Is not it time to halt this process?

The speaker mentioned issues relating to the upbringing of youth and the need to employ visual propaganda. He appealed to the press for undertaking verbal warfare against the ideological enemies.

/Jan Mruk, director of the Vocational School Complex in Glubczyce:/

"In the present times the entire intellectual potential must be exploited to advance our ideology. There is a need for Marxist thought in many communities within our province. The party cannot remain on the defensive. It will assert itself if it leans itself on persons who are adequately prepared for their duties. Incomplete and unverified information should be avoided. Schools lack well-written textbooks, particularly history textbooks. An avalanche of new titles has appeared on the publishing market. They present the most varied views and attitudes. The party press should engage more boldly in polemics with our enemies. Passive attitudes are dangerous to the party.

"Lectures and readings good, but on condition that the speakers are well-prepared and resort to appropriate scientific aids. An unequivocal attitude is important in life. Eminent personages are emulated by young people. Resorting to words alone, without providing a personal example, is a waste of time."

/Adam Bebenek, director, Ideological-Upbringing Work Center in Gogolin:/

"I'm concerned with our managerial cadre and middle-level technical supervisors. We have to pose to them special requirements as regards party matters. The early 1980s were a difficult period to the party. Its authority diminished from day to day."

The most devoted aktiv needed but lacked support. Many party members forgot about their membership. Some kept their party cards as insurance. The managerial cadre must face high requirements: it must be the leading cadre. The speaker

asked about the fate of the draft declaration "Where Are We Going, What Are We Fighting For?"

Stanislaw Raclawicki, editor-in-chief, Polish Radio and Television in Opole:/

"The role of the mass media is obvious and emphasized, but the point is that it should not be overestimated. The weapon provided by the mass media is useful but its effectiveness varies.

"The ether is a domain of exacerbating ideological struggle. Following the August [1980] and December [1981] periods it has not been easy to regain listeners. We have attempted to consider difficult problems in organized discussions attended by workers. We spoke on ideological subjects and the attitudes of the members of our party. We believe that we have restored to some extent the credibility of our operations.

"The Opole radio station is an element of the ideological front. At our station the German problem predominates. We want to bring up the rising generation in the spirit of respect for persons who propagated and perpetuated Polishness in our region. Currently Polish Radio operates under difficult conditions. There is a shortage of spare parts and tapes. But there is no shortage of devotion among the personnel of this mass media center."

/Stefan Ziarko, director, Provincial Scientific, Technical and Economic Information Center (WOINTE):/

"If we wish to regain influence among the masses, we must bear in mind that social problems are complex. In every activity this complexity of the situation has to be taken into account." The speaker discussed his civic activities and numerous meetings on location. It turns out that ideological problems preoccupy many party members. We attend sporadically to ideological matters, which is an example of inconsistent action. At present we devote attention to improving the economic situation, and yet Lenin spoke of the primacy of ideology. We can win over youth only by providing an example ourselves.

The speaker discussed aspects of the ideological crises and next pointed to the need to return to the Marxist wellsprings. He pointed out that the party's ranks have been vastly devastated and hence moral renewal is indispensable. What are the purposes and goals of our activity? Why is not our crisis being viewed through the prism of the world crisis? The victory of our system of society will undoubtedly be decided by the work of the working class. Several thousand sociologists are working in our country—what is the extent to which they are being utilized?

/Janusz Kroszel, director, Silesian Institute:/

The speaker pointed out that the problems under discussion are not alien to the milieux of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in our region participates in the activization of life, and all crises already are past it. The Opole region is a milieu where much has been accomplished to stress the achievements of the Polish worker movement. Scientific studies should be available to every activist. Some people draw a hopeless picture of Poland. Yet we have much to show as regards our accomplishments. I believe that we are not sufficiently

advertising positive elements. It should be stressed that our society works hard.

Director Kroszel emphasized that recently the Silesian Institute was evaluated by the Executive Board of the Central Committee. The evaluation was positive and it pointed to further directions of action.

The speaker stressed that we must be aware that we all are participating in educating youth. The picture of educational work is extremely complex.

/Stanislaw Grychowski, director, Basic Mining School in Otmuchowice:/

"The shaping of consciousness on a daily basis is impossible. This must take years. In the last decade party training in the province and at the POP level has been reduced. Perhaps the old tried and tested good methods of popularizing ideological-upbringing knowledge should be resumed? Thus, province schools for workers should be reactivated. It is the workers who shall relay knowledge to the masses."

The discussant defended teachers who, under difficult conditions, assume the burden of educating children and youth. There is a shortage of teachers. So why have we shut down teacher training schools? We should consider whether teachers with Master's degrees are really needed in elementary schools. Lecturers on ideological matters should be well prepared for their tasks.

Ideological-Political Strengthening of the Party is a Prerequisite for Its Influence on Society's Political Consciousness: Abridged Version of the Report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, Presented by Secretary Jan Chawarski at the Plenary Session of the Opole Province PZPR Committee

Nearly 1.5 years ago we had met at a plenary session that was also like the present session devoted to discussing problems of shaping socialist consciousness among the population of our region. That session was held under different conditions, at a time when the socio-economic and political crisis had been at its nadir, in an era of an intensive strike campaign and political actions by enemies intended to bring about the disintegration of the socialist state.

Today we return to the problems that had at the time been considered sporadically and on an emergency basis as it were. We return to them in order to examine the entire sphere of the party's ideological-political influence in our province in a systematic and comprehensive manner, with the object of working out a specific program of struggle for the ideological-political strengthening of the party and for the socialist consciousness of the population of our region.

The complexity of the problems considered at this session is exemplified by the quantity of briefing materials prepared for today's plenum. We have subjected to broad discussion the theses of this report and the draft resolution. altogether, nearly 800 persons participated in that discussion, of whom nearly 270 offered specific comments and proposals. On this broad basis and as a result of today's discussion, a positive program of action of our province party organization should be structured. Such a program would particularize and make more specific the tasks ensuing both from the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress and that of the Province Reports-Election Conference.

The past 3 years are among the most difficult in the history of our party and statehood. For some 15 months anti-socialist forces had made premeditated attempts to destroy the achievements of entire generations of Poles. For while the events of August 1980 are to be acknowledged as an authentic protest of the working class and the entire society against distortions and depravities in building socialism, the subsequent months had clearly revealed the direction of action of organized extremist and anti-socialist forces intending to change the socio-political system.

The party, being then split by internal contradictions and absorbed with the process of purging itself, had been unable to counter the progressing destabilization of political, economic and social life. Even the great revival within the party prior to the 9th Extraordinary Congress had not fundamentally altered the situation.

The greatest losses were sustained in the sphere of social consciousness. These losses are all the greater considering that the struggle against deformations of views and distortion of consciousness is a long-lasting process that takes many years and requires, more than any other process, consistency, cohesiveness and intensity of action.

What and how people think depends on many factors. It depends on the real socio-economic situation of the state as well as on manifold international conditions, and it also depends to a large extent on the level of social consciousness, on the attitude of the entire society and individual classes, strata and groups to the party and our policy. The struggle for socialist attitudes, for an active support of the party program and for active participation in implementing it, is at present becoming one of our primary tasks.

The first prerequisite for succeeding in that struggle is, on the one hand, strengthening the ideological-political strength, unity and activism of all party organizations and members and, on the other, the broadening of the social base of the party's political influence.

In the past 3 years the province party organization sustained considerable quantitative losses. Party membership in our province declined by 24 percent and currently it totals 67,000. Workers account for a particularly large proportion of the lost members. We also find that the province party organization membership is aging--many young people have left the party. At today's plenum we must answer the question of what should be done to halt the process of decline in the party's membership.

We tried to exploit the martial law era in order to rebuild the party organization and regain ability to act. We have accomplished this, more or less. Today we pose to ourselves a no less difficult task: a decisive improvement in the functioning of the basic and plant party organizations. To be sure, at many party organizations we observe a gradual growth in the activism and commitment of party members, but this process is too slow and lacks universality. The most important shortcomings in the work of the POPs and OOPs include lack of systematic statutory activity, sporadic convening of--often poorly attended--meetings, failure to adopt resolutions or monitor their implementation, exclusive concentration on economic problems--particularly problems of wages and social and living conditions. The situation is even more difficult at rural POPs, at which

organizational ties among POP members are extremely loose and meetings are held sporadically.

To provide concrete assistance to basic party organizations, we have established regional centers of party work and intensified the frequency of field trips made by Province Committee functionaries to local POPs. We also expanded instructional and briefing types of training. Our surveys show that at least 60 percent of the first secretaries of POPs and OOPs hold their posts for the first time. These activists have neither adequate skills nor experience in party work. Last fall we provided a training cycle for all rayon secretaries, and we also are systematically organizing specialist courses lasting several days each. We have to develop a comprehensive and regular system for the training and continuing education of POP and OOP secretaries. A return is also needed to the tried and tested form of assigning to city and gmina aktiv individual tasks consisting in caring for local POPs. Many party echelons already are doing so, but this is not a universally practiced form. It is also worthwhile to activate varied forms of cooperation among party organizations, serving to exchange experience and promoting the integration of different communities, particularly worker communities. In this connection, the principle of accountability for party activism on the part of the managerial cadre of the evaluated enterprise or institution should be absolutely adhered to. For there occur frequent instances in which managerial personnel display reserve or even distance themselves when it comes to definite identification with party policy.

In the resolution of the 9th Congress, as well as in the deliberations of the 12th Central Committee Plenum, explicit stress was placed on the need to change the party's style and methods of action. Priority was given to political, inspiring ways of influencing, based on the knowledge and commitment of party members, on their personal authority and leadership in occupational and public life.

Above all, party members should participate in larger numbers and more actively in the work of public organizations, trade unions and various self-government bodies. At the same time, we expect of these comrades the propagation and, if the need arises, defense of party policy. We must require them to lead in the exercise of occupational and civic duties. This should be coupled with a model attitude toward the family, neighbors and co-workers. As the saying goes, you are judged by what you do. We communists attract special attention and interest. Everything we do is watched and judged, particularly among worker communities.

Another indispensable element of effective ideological-upbringing work is a high level of party cadres and aktiv. For this reason, cadre policy is becoming a particularly important problem. We have already taken certain steps to bring order into matters relating to the principles of the party's cadre policy and activities on the province-wide scale. It appears that we should make this the topic of one of the next sessions of the Province Committee.

An important element in regaining public trust is familiarity with the situation in various communities in which the party is active. Knowledge of the needs and problems of a given community, plant or institution, of the reigning climate, views and opinions there, multiplies the chances for a proper selection of the form, content and methods of party work. Familiarity with and utilization of public opinion is a prerequisite for more effective action by party echelons and organizations. Hence it is necessary to reconsider the possibility of

establishing under the Province Committee the Center for Surveys and Forecasts that would engage in both occasional and long-range surveys reinforcing the present system of intra-party information.

The progressing stabilization of life does not at all denote cessation of ideological struggle. The grave deformations existing in the public consciousness require of us special treatment of ideological activity in the whole of the party's life. The manipulative treatment of ideological activity in the 1970s had been a major factor in the party's destabilization during the most difficult days of the public crisis.

The lesson received has only partially resulted in altering the treatment of ideological activity in the whole of the party's activities. At many party echelons the ideological sphere is still treated as a secondary factor. It also does not receive the attention it deserves at a number of POPs and OOPs. This is exemplified by the effects produced so far in rebuilding party training. Two thirds of party organizations have undertaken training activities, and regular ideological meetings have been held by only one-third.

This does not mean that we lack initiatives in this respect. To meet the demand of the party organizations, we have organized the Province School of Worker Aktiv. So far it has been completed by more than 1,000 auditors originating directly from worker communities. Regular courses are offered by the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism [WUML]. This year we have trained nearly 1,500 activists who took various short-term courses in local communities. However, the method of recruiting students and their actual participation in various forms of training, and primarily the manner in which the retrained cadre is directly utilized in party echelons and organizations, leave something to be desired. Only a small part of WUML graduates work as lecturers or party-training instructors, while at the same time many party echelons and organizations complain about the shortage of retrained aktiv.

The great importance of universal party training should be restored. At every POP and OOP one of the secretaries should exercise the duties of organizer of training and lectures. Twice a year the meeting should evaluate its ideological activities and the ideological-upbringing activities of the work establishment.

A principal role in intensifying ideological-training work is played by the centers for ideological-upbringing work (OPIW) and the regional party work centers (ROPP). The treatment of OPIW directors as unskilled office employees should be stopped. The first and basic duty of the OPIW director is to rally round his center an appropriate group of activists which whom he would conduct arduous and nearly organic ideological work. His performance in that respect should be the criterion for evaluating and judging him, together with the executive board of the concerned local party committee. Party echelons and the Province Center for Ideological Training have the duty of providing all the necessary training materials, thoroughly preparing a cadre of lecturers and instructors, and activating the entire arsenal of rapid and reliable political information meeting the demand of the grassroots party elements. The progress made so far in this respect has been substantial, but it is still far from meeting the needs.

Specific directions of work and tasks relating to ideological training have been presented in the briefing materials provided to the comrades, and today's dis-

cussion should provide an answer to the question of what should be done to implement the postulated tasks.

Ideological work must be supported by information-propaganda activities. We note considerable progress as regards the quantity of propaganda-information material. Some party echelons even are complaining that it is excessive. At the same time, the quality of much of this material is unsatisfactory and does not adequately consider the cardinal tasks of ideological-upbringing work formulated in the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, namely, the deepening of the political and historical self-knowledge of the nation. The process of shaping political and historical consciousness should definitely take into account on a broader basis the popularization of internationalist attitudes and condemnation of any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism and, particularly, anti-Sovietism.

Education is a major element of ideological activity. It is a decisive factor in shaping socio-political consciousness. When assessing critically the attitudes of the rising generation, we have to ask ourselves why the educational system that has been built up over years became subject to such a rapid erosion in confrontation with the enemy.

In years past certain elements of the educational system became proving grounds for the enemies of socialism, a plane of ideological struggle. What is more, anti-socialist groups arose and became active within that system. Opole Province, which is considered to be among the so-called calmer provinces, did not lag in this respect behind the other provinces. We also have not been lagging behind the national average. At many party echelons the ideological sphere has been relegated to a secondary plane so far as concerns activities of youth that conflict with the rigors of the martial law. We must commence more decisive steps. The Polish school can only be a socialist school. We must provide an example of discipline and public peace and order. It is particularly necessary for all teachers to exercise honestly and consistently the educational duties in the socialist state. It is also time for the educational administration to realize this. For so far it has been focusing on teaching competences but it still cannot develop criteria for evaluating the results achieved by teachers. A similar situation exists at institutions of higher education. Their faculty teach and do research with a varying effect but attend only sporadically to upbringing. At present this is promoted by the convenient interpretation that youth should organize itself and bring itself up on its own, because after all it has its own autonomous self-governing organizations. These often illusory views are held by party echelons. In effect, they reduce work with youth organizations to exchange of information at plenary sessions of party or youth organizations. It is time to understand that the autonomy and independence of youth organizations is a cohesive concept rather than one conflicting with the party's leading role specified in their statutes. The party understands the evolution undergone by youth organizations; it understands the material aspirations of youth and promotes them and will support any related initiative. It will, though, require of youth consistence of action--including ideological activities--and political action in behalf of the country's stabilization. Unfortunately, the accomplishments so far in this respect cannot satisfy us. The resolution on youth matters adopted by last year's Central Committee Plenum remains just as topical now.

In many instances youth organizations have to be helped. This concerns in particular higher and secondary schools. There is a need for consistent upgrading of

the ideological knowledge of the party aktiv, heads of educational-upbringing centers and teachers of history and propaedeutics of the science of society. Hence, too, beginning in September of this year it should be made mandatory for them to attend WUML courses as based on Regional Centers of Party Work [ROPP]. This form of training should also be extended to engineers and technicians at large work establishments.

But it is primarily parents who are responsible for upbringing the rising generation. A special duty in this respect has to be fulfilled by party members. But it is not always performed properly. No one has released party members from the obligation of upbringing their children in the spirit of acceptance of our road, in the spirit of socialist morality.

A most important role in shaping the social consciousness of the population of the Opole region is played by opinion-shaping centers as a particularly important and specialized element of the ideological front. In Opole Province the opinion-shaping groups are institutionally well-developed, associate considerable human resources, and are well-staffed and varied. They include the mass media, research and educational centers, scientific societies, the creative community, regional societies of socio-cultural nature and mass social-political organizations. Are the principal opinion-shaping centers, located chiefly in the city of Opole, properly implementing their tasks?

A special role in this respect is played by the press, radio and television. The Executive Board of the Province Committee has evaluated the performance of the editorial team of 'TRYBUNA OPOLSKA' and the staff of the Opole station of the Polish Radio, and its findings were positive. But we expect of Opole's journalist community greater knowledge and persistence and initiative, particularly as regards the integration of the society of our region and the popularization of active and committed social attitudes. They should make greater allowance for the party's point of view and, when the circumstances require, take a principled stance against attitudes and views alien to the party and the socialist state.

Of tremendous importance to ending apathy and discouragement is the attitude of scientists and cultural workers. The faculty of higher schools have three important tasks to fulfill: education, research work and upbringing. The staffs of scientific research institutes should not only engage in research work proper but also participate broadly in the process of shaping patriotic, civic and historical consciousness. The creative and artistic community creates specific cultural conditions as bearers of ideological values. The scope of the tasks of these three groups of institutions thus includes the creation of higher values and their dissemination with the aid of data provided to them by the mass and expression media.

Unfortunately only a small proportion of the salaried employees in that sphere are fully aware of their social obligations and duties toward the state and ready to demonstrate that awareness by deeds. The polarization of social attitudes of the staffs of these centers is evident. From among these staffs are recruited energetic socio-political activists, propagators of public dialogue, popularizers of the best traditions of the local population and spokesmen for law and order, normalization and the cooperation of all Poles in behalf of the public good and the entire country. We do not observe anti-state, anti-Polish and anti-socialist views among the opinion-shaping communities of the Opole region, but we do observe a still persisting state of apathy, passivity and discouragement. What is

worse, the passive attitudes of some employees appear to stem from a misinterpreted right to the autonomy of one's own views. But that is two different things, which are not mutually exclusive. Work in opinion-shaping centers is a special form of public service--regardless of the particular tasks facing the employees, and regardless of whether they are or are not party members. they should pursue the policy and interests of the socialist state.

It is particularly desirable for workers of science and culture to display explicit ideological attitudes and personally participate in shaping the transformations of public consciousness as well as boldly and in a committed manner act to support the state's policy. We expect their assistance in demolishing irrational prejudices and their active support for the program for surmounting the crisis. For every time an employee of a opinion-shaping center displays a negative attitude, this immediately fosters disadvantageous social divisions and promotes undesirable stereotypes of negation or passivity.

This precisely is why the personal attitude of workers of science and culture to the trade-union movement and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is so important. The PRON's formula is essentially precisely the common denominator of creative and rational intentions and attitudes. The PRON associates patriots and committed individuals within its ranks. There already are more than 13,000 of them in our province, associated within 350 elements. These traits should be displayed precisely by employees of the institutions of the ideological-upbringing front. Besides a large proportion of PRON activists in the Opole region come precisely from these institutions. However, support for the PRON by opinion-shaping communities should be more unequivocal, explicit and open.

This formula should also explicitly apply to the trade-union movement. In the Opole region there operate 576 registered trade-union organizations associating nearly 100,000 workers or one-third of the total employment in the region's socialized economy. Undoubtedly the membership of the trade unions will steadily grow--but the point is that this growth should not be impeded by psychological barriers lacking any rational foundation.

The role of party organizations at opinion-shaping centers is particularly important. This concerns both the resources and the pattern of deployment of these organizations. The ideological countenance of the executive boards and POPs at opinion-shaping centers should stand at the highest level. Unfortunately, in recent years cracks have formed in these party organizations and there was a considerable decline in their membership. Thus there exists an inexpressibly urgent need to rebuild the party organizations at these centers and enhance their power and influence on the activities of the centers.

Party organizations in culture and art associate altogether 14.1 percent of cultural and art workers and in science, 22.3 percent of scientific workers. There, too, unfortunately, some of these organizations are passive, disorganized and internally rather quiescent. Their meetings are stereotyped and dull and do not promote creative and sincere discussion. The solution of these problems should be sought in other means of activation--a more frequent invitation of PZPR Central Committee lecturers to attend the meetings and the organization of conferences and discussions of secretaries of individual committees and POPs. Contact between the Province Committee and the POPs that are insufficiently active and living in a permanent state of crisis should undoubtedly be tightened.

Life in the raw continually tests the efficacy of our ideological activities. We have had and will continue to have proofs of this. The political enemy is alert to any misstep we make. He had strongly linked these expectations to the recently ended visit by Pope John Paul II. To be sure, his expectations were not fulfilled, but we must expect that that visit will somewhat affect the course of the party's ideological work.

Undoubtedly, too, in the final analysis, the results of our economic policy will be a test of the effectiveness of our ideology. The success of the economic reform will be the decisive factor in surmounting the country's economic crisis. The public's trust in the party will increase proportionately to the speed with which we will be able to provide it with concrete and measurable proofs of improvement in the economic situation, tangible to every family. For this reason, party echelons and organizations and all party members must be promoters of the reform and consistently monitor the process of its application. Here the attitude of our economic leaders is of tremendous importance. For the effectiveness with which the reform is applied is directly proportional to the quality, commitment and expertise of the managerial cadre. In this respect, the decisions of the September plenum of the Province Committee are even more topical now.

Everything indicates that within the next few years the problem of the reform--and not only economic but also institutional reform at that--will become a major if not the paramount plane of ideological struggle.

The socio-institutional reform will gain in importance with the approach of the next elections to the Parliament and people's councils. The decree on worker self-government and trade unions is not just a recent target of attention to our enemies. It is thus to be expected that the decree on the people's councils, the new voting regulations and the elections themselves will be accompanied by an intense political and ideological struggle.

Even now we must start extensive preparations to win that battle, on astutely engaging in ideological-propaganda activities and preparing the party cadres, the entire party and the entire society for these activities.

Comrades!

In its report the Executive Board of the Province Committee considered only selected problems relating to the ideological-political strengthening of the province party organization and shaping of socialist social consciousness. Certain problems were fairly broadly presentd in the briefing materials provided. They offer an expanded platform for discussion at the present plenum and, for this reason, they also should serve as a basis for drafting a resolution and the attendant schedule of specific tasks for the entire province party organization.

At the same time, the Executive Board of the Province Committee proposes that today's plenum be regarded as direction-setting and should result in further plenary sessions dealing specifically with, among others, the following sector problems: cadre policy and work with party aktiv; activization of the party within the large-industry working class; political work in the countryside; the

party in education, science and culture; directions of ideological-upbringing and information-propaganda activities of party echelons and organizations; and lastly, problems of shaping national consciousness and regional bonds among the society of our province.

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RESULTS OF OPINION SURVEY ON ECONOMIC REFORM RELEASED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 33, 13 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Turski; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In May 1983, the Polish Radio and Television Public Opinion Research Center conducted a study of public opinion and assessments of the economic reform that has been implemented, using a representative sampling of the entire adult population. I believe that the interesting results of this study are worth publicizing.

Public Interest in Economic Reform and Familiarity With Its Basic Principles

Public interest in economic reform issues may be judged as moderate. Of all those surveyed, 42 percent said that they are interested in the economic reform, including: 7 percent (very interested) and 35 percent (moderately interested). Forty-two percent of those surveyed said that they have little interest in reform affairs, while 16 percent expressed a total lack of interest.

Familiarity with basic economic reform principles was studied by means of an open question to which those surveyed gave spontaneous answers. /In answer to the question, "What are the basic principles of the economic reform?", 54 percent of those studied were unable to reply./

Twenty-four percent of those studied gave answers indicating their familiarity with basic reform principles, or about half of those that answered this question. Often, however, they limited themselves to general statements on the economic reform that have been propagated by the mass media. Based on the survey alone, it is hard to judge whether knowledge of the reform revealed by these statements is superficial.

Assessments of the Implementation of the Reform

The majority of those surveyed assessed the putting into practice of the reform favorably.

Two-thirds of all those replying gave a favorable assessment; however, moderately favorable assessments predominated (53 percent). Only one out of

every ten people studied gave a negative evaluation. The percentage of those studied, however, that was unable to make an assessment (undoubtedly because they lacked knowledge about the reform) was high. The same categories of those studied that were more interested in the reform and had more knowledge of it likewise assessed its implementation favorably more often.

#### Opinions on the Principles of the Formation of Wage and Price Systems

In the survey, an attempt was made to learn about opinions on certain aspects of the way these problems have been solved, in particular opinions on: wage scales based on enterprise profits, the factors that should determine the wage scale and price-setting organizational units.

Public opinion on the question of wage scales based on enterprise profits was clearly divided. Of those surveyed, 47 percent believed that wages in a given profession do not have to be equal, but should be scaled according to the profits of the enterprise where one works; on the other hand, 43 percent were of the opinion that wages in a given profession should be the same throughout the country (10 percent had no opinion on this issue). Thus, it is hard to judge whether one of these options clearly was more popular among public opinion.

A fact that clearly divided those polled in terms of the preferred solution for the wage system was the level of education. Those surveyed that had an elementary school education preferred a wage system of equal pay in a given profession (49 percent were in favor of this). Meanwhile, 51 percent of those surveyed that had vocational school and secondary school training and 69 percent of those with a higher education were more in favor of a wage system based on enterprise profits. /Those that were more interested in the reform and assessed its implementation favorably were also more in favor of a system of scaled wages based on enterprise profits./

The next problem studied was public opinion on factors determining the amount of wages (within the plant framework). A comparison of 1983 data with results from 1980 reveals a symptomatic shift. Factors stressing labor efficiency (Productivity, quality) were listed more often and were favored by more people. Detailed results of the answer to this question follow (those surveyed selected three factors of ten that were listed; thus, the percentages do not total 100--but the place within the hierarchy is more important here than percentages):

Table 1. Factors That Should Determine the Amount of Wages

| Item                                | Data for the Given Year (in percentages) |      |
|-------------------------------------|--|------|
|                                     | 1980                                     | 1983 |
| professionalism and skill           | 45                                       | 47   |
| labor productivity                  | 34                                       | 44   |
| good work quality                   | 34                                       | 41   |
| period of service                   | 41                                       | 37   |
| solid, honest work                  | 38                                       | 36   |
| difficulty of work, effort expended | 41                                       | 30   |
| level of education                  | 35                                       | 28   |
| position                            | 16                                       | 14   |
| ingenuity, initiative               | 9  | 11   |

Those polled likewise were asked who ought to determine the price of manufactured goods produced by socialized enterprises: the government or enterprises.

Table 2. Price Determination Poll of Manufactured Goods Prices

| <u>Suggested Price-Setting Unit</u>                         | <u>Percentage of Total Answers</u> |
|---|------------------------------------|
| the government only   | 54                                 |
| partly the government and partly plants, just as at present | 19                                 |
| enterprises only  | 11                                 |
| no opinion  | 16                                 |

/Over half of those studied were in favor of price determination by the government alone. The majority preferred a price system solution that is contrary to reform assumptions, and only 30 percent of the total favored solutions that are possible within the framework of reform principles./

The phenomenon becomes clear if we analyze the spontaneous justifications of the preceding opinions.

All of those polled that believed that the government alone should determine prices (54 percent) indicated in their arguments that prices are too high and vary too widely and that freedom to determine them is too great. They believed that if the government alone set prices they would be lower and would not vary so greatly (thus they were speaking from the perspective of their own private interests). The following were the most frequently used detailed justifications:

- enterprises increase prices to obtain excessive profits,
- prices for the same article should be the same and they are not,
- if the government set prices they would be lower, fairer and would stop increasing.

Those surveyed that expressed the opinion that prices ought to be set partly by the government and partly by enterprises or exclusively by enterprises (30 percent of the total) justified their opinions primarily with the following arguments:

- prices ought to be set on the basis of production costs and producers are more familiar with these costs;
- prices set in enterprises should be controlled, but in such a way as to guarantee enterprises suitable profits;
- price-setting by enterprises does conform to reform principles; if this is observed, then prices will drop as a result of competition.

Those that are in favor of the partial or exclusive setting of prices by producers, i.e., the decentralization of the price system, are consistent supporters of economic reform.

It should be stressed that, according to the survey results, preferring a decentralized system of prices is linked only insignificantly with overall approval of the reform, i.e., with believing it to be reasonable.

Only two categories of those surveyed were markedly in favor of a decentralized price system over the opposite solution--these were young people under age 20, generally not yet financially independent (46 percent) and white-collar workers with a higher education (43 percent).

#### An Assessment of the Benefits and Disadvantages of the Reform

Public opinion on the question of the benefits and disadvantages of the economic reform for Poland is the following:

Table 3. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Reform (data in percentages)

| <u>Item</u>                   | <u>Percentage of the Total</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| mostly good                   | 24                             |
| mostly bad                    | 4                              |
| good and bad in equal measure | 20                             |
| neither good nor bad          | 26                             |
| no opinion                    | 26                             |

Basically more than half of those surveyed refrained from making any judgment.

/Altogether, 44 percent stated that thus far the reform has yielded benefits and 24 percent said that it has been harmful./ It should be stressed, however, that those surveyed that said that the reform has been only beneficial represented less than one-fourth of the total and those that saw only harm in it represented less than one-tenth.

The higher the educational level of those surveyed, the less frequently they said that the reform has yielded benefits (subjects with an elementary education made this assessment in 27 percent of the cases and those having a higher education made it in 39 percent of the cases).

Subjects that assessed the implementation of the reform favorably earlier in the poll perceived the benefits of the reform to a much greater degree than those that assessed the implementation of the reform to be inadequate.

Subjects likewise were polled on the positive and negative phenomena related to the operation of the reform. The phenomena associated with the reform that were spontaneously noted as positive thus far are the following (in order of the number of responses):

- improved market supply with producer goods and restricted state control,
- an increase in production and better, more productive work in enterprises,
- the fact that the reform is being implemented, that its momentum is not flagging,
- an increase in economical management, less waste,
- an increase in wages and the tying-in of wages and employee productivity.

Meanwhile, the phenomena related to the introduction of the reform thus far viewed by subjects as negative are the following (likewise in order of the number of replies):

- prices are increasing faster than wages; inflation is rampant,
- plants are geared toward making excessive profits,
- the reform has not taken effect entirely, it is crippled and impeded,
- the lack of marked improvement: in production quality, in production increase, productivity and efficiency.

#### Assessments of the Changes That Have Occurred in Socialized Plants Since the Economic Reform Was Initiated

The following table lists the answers of those that work in the socialized economy to questions on the various aspects of enterprise operation. These are assessments made by employees that claim to work in enterprises that are either included in the economic reform or are not so included.\*

Table 4. Socialized Enterprise Employee Survey on Enterprise Operations

| <u>Aspect of Enterprise Operations</u>             | <u>Employee Assessment (in percentages)<br/>for Both Types of Plants</u> |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <u>plants included<br/>in the reform</u>                                 | <u>plants not included<br/>in the reform</u> |
| work organization:                                 |  |  |
| improved   | 28   | 9  |
| unchanged  | 57   | 69   |
| worsened   | 10   | 18   |
| basing wages on productivity and quality of labor: |  |  |
| increased  | 33   | 15   |
| unchanged  | 56   | 75   |
| declined   | 4  | 5  |
| production volume:                                 |  |  |
| increased  | 34   | 5  |
| unchanged  | 36   | 43   |
| declined   | 12   | 9  |
| amount of earnings:                                |  |  |
| increased  | 61   | 55   |
| unchanged  | 27   | 34   |
| declined   | 8  | 9  |

/More employees in plants included in the reform see an improvement in enterprises from all the different aspects than those in plants not included in the reform./

The majority of employees both in plants that are included in the reform and in plants that are not included in the reform feel that in the enterprise changes have not occurred with regard to: work organization, basing wages upon the amount of work, absence from work and the size of the administration. The majority in both categories see positive changes only with regard to wages.

\*The percentages do not total 100 since the response "It is hard to say" has not been included.

### Expectations of the Reform

The survey delved into problems of general expectations of the results of the reform in the future and expectations regarding changes in various fields.

The results of answers to the question regarding the anticipated general benefits and disadvantages over the next 3 years follow (data in percentages):

Table 5. Reform Results Over the Next 3 Years Expected by Employees

| <u>Item</u>                   | <u>Percentage of Answers</u> |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| more good                     | 44                           |
| more bad                      | 4                            |
| good and bad in equal measure | 15                           |
| neither good nor bad          | 14                           |
| no opinion                    | 23                           |

The vast majority expected the reform to bring good rather than bad in the future (although many of those polled had no opinion on this question). In general, public opinion on the reform results issue in the future is cautiously optimistic.

It should be stressed, however, that human expectations regarding the future are generally rather optimistic. It is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty whether expectations for the future are based on studied argumentation or whether they are an expression of the hope and desire that things will be better in the future.

In the opinion of 45 percent of the subjects, the reform will bring about an improvement in the living standard of society in the future (less than 9 percent were of the opinion that things will be worse as a result of it). Likewise, nearly half (49 percent) believed that the reform in the future will stop prices from increasing (29 percent said they will continue to rise).

At least half those polled also expected an improvement in the situation in the following fields as a result of the reform (data in percentages of total subjects):

Table 6. Employee Survey of Improvement in Specific Fields Resulting From Reform

| <u>Field</u>  | <u>Percentage of Total Responses</u> |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Improved foodstuffs procurement                             | 76                                   |
| Improved manufactured goods procurement                     | 73                                   |
| Improved economical management and reduction of waste       | 72                                   |
| Increased basing of wages on labor productivity and quality | 71                                   |
| Improved labor productivity                                 | 64                                   |
| Improved quality of goods                                   | 62                                   |
| Increased workforce impact on plant matters                 | 61                                   |
| Improved social conditions in factories                     | 58                                   |
| Better selection of management cadre                        | 57                                   |

/Thus, the majority of public opinion expected the reform to yield positive results in all fields (from those taken under consideration)./

The formulation of opinions on expectations of reform results depended primarily upon the education of subjects and whether they belong to the PZPR. In the case of all the expectations discussed, the higher the educational level of subjects, the less optimistic their expectations, while among PZPR members, optimistic expectations were markedly more frequent than was the case among nonparty members.

In conclusion, it seems advisable to stress several conclusion emanating from the study. The majority of those surveyed assessed the implementation of economic reform to be well founded and expected it to have positive results. At the same time, familiarity with reform principles was not great. The solution to the wage system envisaged by the reform was poorly accepted and the solution to the price system was rejected by the majority of subjects.

It is somewhat optimistic that employees in plants included in the reform perceived improvement in the operation of their enterprises more readily than did employees in plants where the reform has not been put into practice.

8536  
CSO: 2600/1190

NEW TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

New Model of Polish Trade Union

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1,4

[PAP report: "The New Model of the Polish Trade-Union Movement is Gradually Taking Shape: In Measure With the Expectations and Needs of Working People" passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Warsaw (PAP). Six weeks after the social agreements on the Coast and in Jastrzebie had been signed, work on the trade unions decree was undertaken by a team appointed by the Council of State from among representatives of the world of science and all contemporary currents of the trade-union movement. The draft decree was conceived during ardent discussion which in its final stage already bore the signs of the exacerbating political struggle. The draft was subsequently subjected to various revisions and ultimately the decree was resolved upon on 8 October 1982. Despite the changing fate /the decree meets the workers' postulates recorded in August 1980 and corresponds with the original main premises of the law that was to guarantee independence and self-government to trade unions and create a new partner-type model of the trade-union movement in Poland/. This is increasingly confirmed by the first stage of operation of the new trade-union law.

The greatest controversy was caused by defining, in the decree's interim provisions, the manner of emerging from our most difficult--trade-union--crisis and reactivating the unions, which resumed public life after having been absent for more than a year. /The difficult decision to disband the previous trade unions, which caused understandable bitterness among unionists in every faction composing that movement, was the only possible solution. Life itself confirmed the justice of this decision, which transmitted to the hands of working people the cause of building from the ground up their occupational organizations and the power of independent--this time, without any mediators--decisionmaking on the shape and future of the trade-union movement./

This decision did not, however, make life any easier for the activists of the new trade unions, which are forming under extremely difficult social and psychological conditions. Unionists must break through the barriers of mistrust and reserve among part of the workforces, gradually and through active daily concern with worker issues. /They also are dealing with attempts at boycotts, with sharp attacks by the underground./ Recently, however, these hazards have become increasingly marginal, and the gradual but steady growth of trade unions demonstrates that they are needed by working people, and that they are

gradually occupying their due niche in the life of work establishments and the entire country.

Pursuant to the decree, trade unions could start their activities only at the beginning of this year. After 3 months since registration had started, the number of trade unions reached 6,900 and their membership about 1.5 million. /Currently the number of trade unions has exceeded 17,000 and their total membership is more than 3.2 million. Everything indicates that the movement will continue to grow until it becomes a genuine mass movement. Trade-union organizations or initiating groups and founding committees are active in 90 percent of the plants authorized by the decree to form trade unions./ Members of all previous factions of the trade-union movement are participating in building trade unions.

The decree provided for establishing trade unions this year only at the level of work establishments. However, the growth of trade unions in individual subsectors and occupational groups has been such that it led to /tremendous demand for an earlier formation of supra-plant trade-union structures/ which augment the power of trade-union organizations and enable trade unions to protect more effectively the interests of employees. As early as on 12 April of this year the Council of State availed itself of a provision in the decree on trade unions to vote a resolution concerning the principles and procedure for forming national trade-union organizations. The first to obtain the approval of the Council of State for commencing earlier its activities was the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions, whose founding congress is already over. In addition several other national organizations have been registered, and much indicates that in the near future we will have several dozen such organizations. The unionists most often choose the federation form, and the already emergent outline of the new organizational trade-union landscape has nothing in common with the pre-August subsector-ministry model or with the regional structure of Solidarity, which had in no way corresponded with trade-union needs.

Thus, one of the interim provisions of the decree, which undoubtedly restricts the organizational freedom and powers of the trade-union movement, has in practice been abolished, but this does not mean at all that obtaining approval from the Council of State is a mere formality. /It is not precluded either that possibilities for forming a national central organization of trade unions may arise even before the expiration of the deadline specified in the decree, that is, earlier than in 1985./ As known, in this matter, too, the Council of State is empowered with basic competences.

/The lawmaking authority has introduced an interim provision pursuant to which the principle of one trade union to one plant was to apply until 31 December 1984. The hopes which the opposition places in the new possibilities for political pluralism of trade unions would mean a return to anarchy and sharp internal division within the workforces./

These considerations also motivated the Parliament on 21 July of this year when it rescinded the martial law. The decree on special regulations during the period of surmounting the social-economic crisis as well as on revisions of certain decrees links the determination of the date on which more than one trade union may operate at a plant to the future evaluation of the

implementation of the entire decree on trade unions, to be done by the Council of State. The decree on trade unions places the Council of State under the obligation of making that evaluation and proposing, as the need arises, to revise the decree--following consultation with the unions, 3 years after the date on which the decree became effective, that is, in the fall of 1985. The Parliament's July decision is thus of a provisional nature, prejudging nothing and leaving the matter for future settlement with the participation of unionists themselves.

Despite these few restrictions, the decree has endowed trade unions with powers and possibilities for exercising them (up to the proclamation of strikes, inclusively) which they had never had previously, and it provided systemic guarantees for their autonomy and independence. /The decree elucidated and expanded the basic--protective--function of trade unions as spokesmen for and defenders of the interests and rights of not just their members but also all working people./ The first consultations by government representatives with unionists at the national level and in individual ministries, concerning proposed decisions of importance to working people, confirmed that this is precisely how trade unions interpret their role and demonstrated the social usefulness of this arrangement in which the government and trade unions work together as partners.

At work establishments, too, the still relatively small numerically trade unions assume responsibility for issues of concern to the entire workforces and attend, fairly often quite effectively, to the solution of many problems relating to social services and wages that had been ignored for years. Of course, this is not always successful, with obstacles sometimes being placed by the illwill of the economic administration and particularly of those of its representatives who already succeeded in forgetting the need to respect the rights of trade unions and their own liability to social control. It is thus worth noting that /in ignoring the powers granted to trade unions, they violate the provisions of the decree, which specify legal accountability for such violations/. It is also worth noting that the country's political leadership have repeatedly and unambiguously stressed that /the party shall react decisively to any attempt at violating the independence of trade unions from the administration and infringing upon their legal rights/.

The first few months of trade-union activities have also revealed loopholes in legal provisions. Practice showed, e.g. that the time is ripe to settle the issue of an explicit distinction between the competences of worker self-government and trade unions. It is also necessary to clarify the identity of the body authorized to resolve disputes between trade unions and worker self-government, for conflicts between these two representations are growing in numbers against the background of unclear regulations.

The renascent trade-union movement is a little less than 8 months old. This is not much for a social organization which has to play such an important role in democratizing life in this country and solving the currently exceptionally complex social and economic problems. This is not enough time for that movement to consolidate itself sufficiently in order to exploit all the extensive possibilities for action and competences with which the decree endows it. But even now it can be stated /that a new model of the Polish trade-union movement, meeting the expectations and needs of working people, is

arising on the foundation laid by that decree, which was born of the August workers' protest, of the dramatic and bitter experiences of trade unions.

#### Increase in Union Authority

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 26-27-28 Aug 83 pp 1,2

[Interview with Tadeusz Fotymski by (tur): "The Authority of Trade Unions is Growing"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] [Question] /Elections to the board of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of the POLMO Automotive Mechanisms Factory (FMS) took place last May. But you began your activities much earlier. What activities has your trade union already engaged in so far? What matters did you succeed in resolving on behalf of union members and the workforce?/

Tadeusz Fotymski, a member of the trade-union board at POLMO FMS, answered:

[Answer] The list of such matters is fairly long. Not all are on record. Many concern seemingly trivial everyday vexations that influence the mood at the plant and even in families. Yes, yes...we also settle such family matters. How effectively? This cannot always be rapidly assessed.

Despite our lack of unionist experience, from the moment the year had begun we joined energetically in the life of the workforce, in the solution of issues of concern to it. We also began immediately to pay statutory benefits. By May of this year we spent 186,000 zlotys on this purpose. The beneficiaries were both union members, who had received altogether 16,000 zlotys, and non-union employees, who had received more than 170,000 zlotys in benefits. Pursuant to the resolution of the general membership meeting, however, as of last May benefits have been paid only to union members, owing to lack of funds for these purposes. In all other matters we do not practice division between union members and the remainder of the workforce, and what is more, most of the matters that we attended to was in behalf of non-union members at our plant. In a word, we try to represent the entire workforce.

/Recently, for example, we placed in preschools six children of women working at our plant, outside the allotted number of preschool vacancies obtained by the social services department. This took a little effort. We visited the preschools and, by talking with their directors and the Department of Education, we succeeded in finding room for the children--enough to place all the children from our plant and, most importantly, thus keep employees who otherwise had intended to resign./

/Like everywhere else, housing is not an easy problem for us to solve. Several requests have been addressed in this connection to our union. Our commission for social services and living conditions checked on the quality of life of the applicants, which was found to be simply tragic. We found that the situation requires our immediate intervention. So we visited the Housing Department of the Town Hall. We obtained verbal assurance that requests for three apartments will be resolved positively./

/As time goes on, the work of the commission for social services and living conditions is increasing in volume. It has even been necessary to broaden its membership, include union members in its activities, and establish subcommissions for specific problems. The subcommission for housing has recently considered, for example, loans for renovation of housing, conversion of attics to apartments and single-family home building. Loans of 20,000 zlotys each for renovation of housing were granted to 21 persons and loans of 200,000 zlotys each for single-family home building have been granted to 15 persons./

/The current heat wave has been discomforting everyone. Employees asked the union to procure extra quantities of cooling beverages for the "hot" departments. This concerns vitaminized beverages, that is, simply water mixed with fruit juices. This was attended to at once./

/The workforce has also asked us to move away from direct proximity to machine tools the workstation for painting the components, because the machine tool operators were exposed to the fumes of paints and lacquers. Owing to our intervention, that workstation was transferred elsewhere..../

/We have already evaluated several times the wage and bonus regulations and the incentive system which is to be introduced at our plant. We analyzed all proposals very thoroughly and presented our own suggestions and recommendations intended to, among other things, reduce wage differentials for discrete worker categories, because--in the union's opinion--they are not always fully justified./

/A continuing source of dispute between us and the management of the plant is the question of vacation pay. The plant's system of vacation pay makes no allowance for work on Saturdays off. As a result, employees who avail themselves of their accumulated yearly leave all at once are paid for 23 days, whereas employees who take several brief vacations in the course of a year generally receive pay for 26 work days. The workforce reported this to the trade union and asked for a clarification. We talked with the management and the plant's economic services. The management proved unable to settle this issue. So we turned to the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Services for clarification and resolution of irregularities in the applicable legal provisions./

[Question] Each of these issues is in some ways linked to shaping interpersonal relations at the plant.

[Answer] Yes. This is a highly important role of the trade-union organization. We are to settle these relations, improve them where they are not the best. Consider a tangible example: We were visited by an employee who had been working well for a long time with his team, but then suddenly his situation changed owing to certain misunderstandings. So he requested a transfer to another workstation. We helped him, and he even was able to operate a press that he had selected himself.

Or a woman had returned from her maternity leave. She wanted her old job back, but the team was opposed. The supervisor decided that the woman was the source of many conflicts and that the other women employed in that department refuse to accept her in their group. Many talks had to be conducted. The

woman promised that she would cause no further conflicts. Since then we have not had any reports to the contrary.

[Question] This shows that the union is winning the workforce's confidence, that people are coming to the union with their problems....

[Answer] I believe that during this short period of time we did all we could. In my opinion, we already have gained a little authority, which is very important to us. And perhaps just because of this, we find that our membership is growing. It is worth noting that, owing to lack of funds, the eight-member board of the union performs its activities on a voluntary unpaid basis; only the secretary is temporarily assigned....

1386

CSO: 2600/1304

NEW ORDERS ISSUED ON ALCOHOLISM IN ARMED FORCES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Col Zdzislaw Zolnierzczuk: "Sobriety in Military Training"]

[Text] We now have a set of regulations covering sobriety and prevention of alcoholism, namely, a law published in the DZIENNIK USTAW No 35 of 1983 and executive acts pertaining to it, which were amended in DZIENNIK USTAW No 25 and the MONITOR POLSKI No 17 of 1983. The Minister of National Defense issued two executive acts: a decree and order regulating procedures in instances where alcoholic beverages were brought into military installations and also one restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages at other locations under the jurisdiction of the military. (Command Journal MON [Ministry of National Defense] of 1983 sec 20 and 21)

At this point it should be mentioned, that for many years within the military forces, appropriate restrictions have been enforced and the results of present practices were analyzed and published.

Directions, Methods and Structures

In light of the new regulations in force it is necessary to reflect if they are feasible and also what influence they will have in promoting sobriety and abstinence.

The accepted mode of the military in handling undertakings of this kind anticipates:

conducting educational propaganda aimed at formulating within military bases a knowledge of what effects drunkenness has on the individual and society, promoting fundamentals for the abatement of excessive use of alcohol;

educational persuasions of individuals showing tendencies for alcohol abuse;

influences directed toward alcohol abstention through the development of a variety of individual or participant forms of interest and a rational utilization of the soldiers' spare time;

limiting the availability of alcohol through warnings of enacted regulations regarding the sale, bringing in and consuming alcoholic beverages within the limits of military installations, also, eliminating the sale of alcoholic beverages at points of close proximity to the bases (less than 100 meters to these areas);

responding to existing cases of alcohol abuse in accordance with regulated disciplinary sanctions and civil justice.

Comparing the above procedures with regulations of the act concerning sobriety and education in controlling alcoholism, it is clear that they are in agreement with the new directives. So then, the enforcement of the act will depend upon further results in all branches of the military.

Giving a high priority to the struggle with drunkenness and alcoholism through the power of law, presents the military establishment with an assignment in keeping with its standing in the community. Unquestionably, the necessity for assuming these actions should arise not only from the regulatory responsibilities, but also from the conviction that they provide the proper influence and indoctrination of soldiers in attitudes to alcohol. Moreover, we have good possibilities for eliminating symptoms of alcohol abuse.

In reality the results are not always in keeping with expectation of efforts and capabilities, but it is difficult to accept inactivity or limitations in attempts. Another thing is that the resultant achievements of the new law within the civilian sector will also have a positive effect on the outcomes in organizational activities, also on educational and preventative attempts conducted by the army. One comment, there is a complication in this problem which has been increasing for many years, namely, the deeply-rooted excessive consumption of alcohol embedded in the country's customs and traditions which requires a warning against too much optimism.

At times you hear opinions doubting the effectiveness of instigating restrictive measures at military units rarely showing any problems with alcohol.

However, it is necessary to warn against yielding in vigilance and efforts to condition peoples' attitudes, in this case, methods of alcoholism prevention.

It is constantly necessary to hold your finger on the pulse, because any weakening of the mandated restrictions or tolerant treatment of arising cases of alcohol abuse is followed by declining interest in the problem of the group, giving way to tendencies for a proliferation of the problem. So then, potential threats justify the demand for continuation of programs minimizing them, understanding them to be a combination of efforts serving the purpose of preventing excessive use of alcohol and reacting to incidents perpetrated under the influence of liquor.

Although it is not always appreciated, it is obvious that the steps undertaken should primarily consider avoidance, that means, they must make an impression on the soldier's conscience for an understanding of his obligation to adjust to the army's requirements for sobriety in service (duty), also for him to refrain from alcohol abuse in civilian life. These will be in forms of anti-alcohol propaganda and enlightenment, which should be predominately lectures and informational film presentations dealing with alcoholism, since these are the most convincing. An extremely effective method in prevention is the persuasion of an individual demonstrating alcoholic tendencies. Among the various forms, an important role can be played by groups of soldiers from the person's closest circle. Other favorable results were achieved by contacting the family of the soldier with a drinking problem. Other preventative conditions affecting the composition of the law concerning soldier sobriety, are exemplary attitudes regarding abstinence set by their superiors, beginning with the lower echelon. If one of the basic requirements of a superior is compliance to orders, then it is difficult to imagine favorable results if these are not preceded by his good example.

#### Equally in Service as Beyond It

Restrictions covering violations of bringing onto a military base, selling and the consumption of alcoholic beverages, have proven to be effective. Directives issued by the Minister of National Defense No 22 of 5 May 1983 clarified the law's fundamentals and its restrictions. Actually, there have been very few changes from the existing resolutions. There are certain questions that can arise from the interpretation of section 4 in this directive forbidding among other things, the sale and consumption of alcohol at military clubs, cafeterias and buffets on military bases. This pertains to the ones located on premises of individual installations and military complexes, although applying these restrictions to some of them, because of their locations, will require separate rulings. It is necessary to indicate, that when talking about banning the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages, this is understood to mean all types and so includes beer.

All restrictions, including the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages to the military, only have meanings if they are enforced. However, any relaxation in this respect will lead to the ignoring of these interdictions and weaken the meaning of other anti-alcohol activities within the units.

Another area for accomplishments, aside from preventions, is one for reacting to present negative results in violations concerning sobriety. The existing regulatory principles for counteracting remain unchanged. The new law prescribes punitive responsibilities for consumption of alcoholic beverages at military installations within the confines of barracks. When a soldier violates this restriction he is, as before, subject to disciplinary action. Responsibilities have been incorporated to cover individuals who buy and consume alcoholic beverages in places of illegal liquor sales, which are known as drunkards' lairs.

It should be remembered that the penal code taking into consideration the variety of options available, mandates that in specific instances the case

should be decided by a colleague, or else court of honor. This would concern a case where a soldier under the influence of liquor commits an act involving the honor and dignity of the military, in a public place, in the presence of civilians. Experience has proven that turning over the case for public judgment increases educational reaction, creating an atmosphere of disapproval within the military establishment for this sort of procedure. A review of a case by the court has a much more pronounced educational influence, than dispensing disciplinary penalties.

This new law attaches much importance to the role public organizations promoting sobriety and abstinence play, indicating the need to support them in their undertakings. Even back in the 1970s the usefulness of these organizations was noted by the military forces. Supportive laws were provided for the establishment and operations of the Social Anti-alcohol Committee [SKP] and the Association for Sobriety of Transport Workers.

If these are to be conducted in accordance with educational requirements in sobriety, alcoholism prevention has to have the full support of military and social groups, out of which the leading positions should be entrusted to these: Social Anti-Alcohol Committees and Associations for Sobriety of Transport Workers. As the most specialized segments, they can perform a realistic role in propaganda and anti-alcohol education, as well as attracting persons showing tendencies toward alcoholism, through preventative tactics.

A broader view should be taken on the activities performed by the Social Anti-Alcohol Committees. Having a complete understanding of conditions in their own area they can be an inspiring and mobilizing factor for attempts of other units. If the Social Anti-Alcohol Committees in some units did not achieve their purpose and at a certain period of time, some of them have even been abolished, the main reason for this was that they were not treated seriously and they were not assured of a properly representative staffing. The consequence of this was seen in a distinct weakening of anti-alcohol activities, reflected by negative indicators related to alcohol problems. This means that you cannot perform satisfactorily without the aid of Social Anti-Alcohol Committee units. It is also difficult to speak about greater successes without knowledge of the regulations in the law governing sobriety education and alcoholism prevention as well as its importance for preventative measures in the army.

12306  
CSO: 2600/1259

NEW ORDER ON MILITARY IDENTITY DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 25, 16 Jul 83 pp 221-222

[Text] Order of the minister of National Defense of 11 July 1983 concerning the handing out of military identity documents and the procedure for handling these documents.

On the basis of article 50 of Resolution 4 of 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic (DZ. U. 1979, No 18, item 111), it is ordered that:

1. A military identity document (a military book or authentication) is handed directly to the person concerned with an acknowledgement of receipt.
- 2.1. An individual who is leaving the country permanently is obligated to turn in his/her military identity document to the agency of state administration giving him/her a passport. This agency will immediately pass the received document to the proper military recruiting board, simultaneously indicating the country to which the individual is traveling.
2. An individual leaving the country temporarily will leave his/her military identity document in his/her apartment or turn it in for safekeeping with acknowledgement of receipt at his/her place of work, or to the military recruiting board.
3. An individual who repeatedly travels abroad in connection with the execution of official duties, while serving in sea or air navigation, or land movement, will turn in his/her military identity document with acknowledgement of receipt at his/her place of work. An individual directed to work on the sea may also turn in his/her document to the local agency of maritime administration with acknowledgement of receipt.
4. If an individual traveling abroad has turned in his/her military identity document for safekeeping at his/her place of work or at the local agency of maritime administration and has not returned to Poland after the specified period, his/her place of work (or the agency of maritime administration) is obligated to send the document without delay to the proper military recruiting board.

3.1. In the event that it is determined that an individual crossing the border has in his/her possession a military identity document, the border control agency will take the document with acknowledgement of receipt and send it to the proper military recruiting board.

2. The regulations of Resolution 1 is appropriately applied when the individual crossing the border turns in his/her military identity document up to the border control agency.

4.1. If an individual loses his/her military identity document, he/she is obligated to immediately inform the proper military recruiting board either personally or by airmail.

2. After having been informed about the loss of a military identity document, the recruiting board gives the concerned individual a predetermined temporary military certificate. If after 30 days from the day of having been informed and the lost document has not been recovered, the military recruiting board will provide a new military identity document.

3. If the loss of the military identity document occurred while on active duty, the soldier is obligated to immediately report the loss to the commander of the military unit who will provide him/her with a temporary military certificate.

4. Until the receipt of a new military identity document, the temporary military certificate replaces the military identity document; appropriate regulations on military identity documents are applied.

5. Upon finding the lost military identity document, the individual is obligated to immediately inform the proper military recruiting board and provide it with the recovered document; a soldier on active military duty will immediately report the recovered document to the commander of the military unit.

6. The handling of military identity documents in the event they are found is covered by the following regulations:

1) the decrees of the Council of Ministers of 14 June 1966 on handling recovered items (DZ. U., No 22, item 141),

2) the decrees of the Minister of Finance of 12 July 1971 on handling recovered items in a public building (DZ. U., No 19, item 185),

3) the decrees of the ministers of local economy and environmental protection, transportation and maritime economy of 12 July 1972 on handling of items recovered on public vehicles of transportation and the areas and offices connected with this transportation. (DZ. U., No 30, item 210).

5.1. An individual who has received permission to change his/her Polish citizenship, is obligated to turn in his/her military identity document at the local office of the agency of state administration at the same level as that one which present the document of change in citizenship.

2. The agency, referred to in 5.1., provides the concerned individual with a certificate confirming the turning-in of his/her military identity document and immediately sends this document to the proper military recruiting board.

6.1. In the event an individual having a military identity document dies, those persons who are required by regulations concerning personal identity documents to return the personal identity document or temporary personal identity document, especially housekeepers of the deceased, directors of hotels, plant health services, rest homes, are obligated to send the military identity document of the deceased to the office of the proper agency of state administration at the appropriate level.

2. The agency, referred to in 6.1., will inform the proper military recruiting board of the death of the individual and simultaneously send out the document.

7.1. Military identity documents belonging to people temporarily incarcerated are held at the headquarters of the arresting unit.

2. Military identity documents belonging to people incarcerated (including military arrest) will be sent by the chief of the prison facility to the proper military recruiting board if these documents belong to:

1) ensigns or reserve officers,

2) men or noncommissioned officers of the reserve who have received a mobilization card.

3. Military identity documents belonging to people other than those referred to in 7.2., are maintained in the possession of the prison facility until those people are released from said facility.

8. Concerning the issues specified in this order, the military recruiting boards are the proper agencies to which the holder of military identity documents belong.

9. The regulations of this order do not apply to military identity documents belonging to professional soldiers.

10. The order of the minister of national defense dated 9 May 1970 concerning the handing out of military identity documents and the handling of these documents is rescinded (MONITOR POLSKI No 15, item 129).

11. This order becomes effective the date of its publication.

Minister of National Defense, F. Siwicki

12247  
CSO: 2600/1261

PROVINCIAL SOCIOECONOMIC AKTIV DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Aktiv Meeting With Lublin Authorities

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25-26 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by jan: "Meeting of Socioeconomic Aktiv of Provincial Internal Trade Enterprise [WPHW] in Lublin With Provincial Authorities"]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday, that is on the 24th of this month, employees of the Provincial Internal Trade Enterprise in Lublin met with representatives of the party and of the administrative authorities of the province. Among others, the first secretary of the Executive Committee of PZPR, Wieslaw Skrzyszlo, and Lublin Province governor, Tadeusz Wilk, came for the meeting. Marian Staron, director of the Internal Trade Enterprise Association, was also present.

The discussion was preceeded by the speech of the WPHW director, Tadeusz Rekiel, who presented the most important problems connected with the functioning of the trade enterprises in the unusually difficult period of merchandise deficit, described the course of implementing the reform in the enterprise and underlined the most important achievements and problems awaiting solution. To complete the exposition, information was presented which was transmitted by representatives of political and social organizations active in the enterprise and cooperating closely with the administration in economic, organizational and social matters.

After the discussion, which to a large degree concerned the details of problems touched upon earlier, the representatives of the Lublin province authorities took the floor. The Provincial governor, Tadeusz Wilk, underlined the great contribution of WPHW which could be expressed in concrete numbers, stated that organizational forms have to be continually perfected, new possibilities in supplying the market have to be sought because the needs of the market are far from being satisfied even on a global scale. First secretary of PZPR, Wieslaw Skrzyszlo, stressed in turn the significance of good cooperation between social and political organizations and the enterprise management which should, as in the case of WPHW, be expressed in constructive concurrence in the fulfillment of social and economic aims.

In conclusion, the director of the Association of Internal Trade Enterprises presented several up-to-date pieces of information concerning the prospects for supplying industrial goods. Thus, in the second half of the year the supply of furniture to the market will be improved: more radio and television sets will be available, and 250,000 refrigerators from the Soviet Union will find their way to the market. The supply of clothing and covers will improve. However, lingerie supplies will not improve. In general, however, more goods appear in our stores and everything indicates that this tendency will be lasting.

#### Aktiv Meeting at Krakow Province

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 10 Aug 1983 pp 1,2

[Article by (g): "PZPR Krakow Committee Conference of Socioeconomic Aktiv; To Counteract Unfavorable Phenomena; We Need a Dialogue for Everyday"]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday a conference of secretaries of plant committees and of basic party organizations as well as of directors from 56 Krakow City Province workplants took place. The hosts of the meeting were members of the Secretariat of Krakow Committee and the meeting was led by Jozef Gajew Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Committee. The mayor of the city, Tadeusz Salwa, was also present as well as the deputy commandant of the Province Citizens' Militia [MO], Col Jozef Biel.

The sociopolitical situation of the province was discussed, the economic results of the first half-year were presented as well as the directions of party and propaganda work for the near future.

Col Jozef Biel said that the political situation is being systematically normalized. This does not mean that an atmosphere of full satisfaction is reigning. Such negative elements as an insignificant progress in implementation of the reform and difficult working conditions are not indifferent for the consciousness of the working people. On the other hand, everyday life became as it were a little easier if only when comparing the present good market situation with the situation a year or two ago.

Tadeusz Salwa informed that during the first half of the present year, supplies in basic foodstuffs secured a continuity of sales. Positive prospects exist also for the second quarter except for meat. Production tasks in dairy products and vegetable oils were fully fulfilled. Unfortunately the industrial articles deficit (washing machines, iceboxes, sewing machines), the deficit of light industry and of apartment outfitting could not be avoided. The sale of these articles will be done through MM [expansion unknown] credits and through fairs [?kiermasze] in larger work plants.

In the industry, the unfavorable relation between labor productivity, level of employment and of salaries continues. In the first half of the present year, an increase of 5.2 percent was attained compared to the same period for last

year. The fact that the increase in production was reached mainly by the increase in labor productivity is favorable. In construction, the increase in production was noted in general by 22.6 percent by comparison with the same period of last year. The plan of apartment construction is threatened, however. There is a shortage of highly-qualified employees, the organization of work and work discipline are deficient. Among newly-arising investments, mayor Salwa evaluated well the progress of work on the construction of Hospital B in Nowa Huta and in Raba II.

The director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Krakow Committee, Tadeusz Nowicki, when presenting the main directions of party work in the economic sphere, discussed a series of unfavorable phenomena which would be counter-acted by the party and by trade unions in particular work establishments. These phenomena are, among others: pejorative treatment of plant savings programs, violations of quality standards and of the structure of productions, increase in gross pay (on average three times larger than the central plan foresaw), improper distribution of gains from profits, and lack of mastering of rules of economic reform.

Krakow Committee Secretary Jan Czepiel in his speech devoted a lot of attention to the functioning of propaganda centers hostile to us. He discussed the tasks of party organizations in the ideological sphere.

In closing the meeting, the first secretary of the Krakow Committee, Jozef Gajewicz spoke, among others, about the need for a dialogue in work plants and for everyday reconciliation and understanding.

#### Experimental School for Working Aktivs

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Halina Mamok: "Experiences of School for Workers' Aktiv in Czestochowa; To Arm Ourselves With Arguments"]

[Text] Comrade Jozef Knak, first secretary of the basic party organization in the steel plant of the Bierut mine in Czestochowa, has already anticipated in more than one party instructional program in the course of his years-long party membership, but he holds the highest esteem for SzAR: Workers' Aktiv School. The abbreviation is used by the graduates of the School of Workers' Aktiv among themselves, and the school has been operating since March 1982 at the Provincial Center for Ideological Training in Czestochowa. Although the summer vacation still continues, it is worthwhile to look at the experience of the school since not too much time is left before the new schoolyear begins.

I raised the topic prompted by reflections on the part of many secretaries of plant organizations who, not without difficulty, look for an effective formula for raising the level of political knowledge of party members. They point out that at the same time it is particularly important to transmit this knowledge in a skillful way to comrades who daily face the need to answer various questions. Many of the questions have their source in facts interpretations formulated by the opponent.

This need, which became sharply evident at the beginning of the 1980's, continues to be of interest: maybe the range of topics has changed somewhat, but party members continue to have to take up political discussions in their milieu, and as a rule the workers are in the most difficult situation.

Similar observations were the motivation for the establishment of the school for Workers' Aktiv in Czestochowa. Once a month for 10 days a group of 50 students participate in classes. They are sent to school from workplaces by basic echelons.

When the classes began--says comrade Jerzy Mizgalski who is responsible for the organization of schooling--we were most afraid that some participants would accuse us that those 10 days on leave from work represented wasted time. Such an accusation was not made even once, on the contrary, it was frequently suggested at the end of that tour period, that the schooling should not be limited to just one session. Every day after classes the students filled out a questionnaire anonymously, in which they evaluated the classes, the degree of satisfaction of their interests and doubts; they suggested topics to be taken up and also listed the provincial authorities representatives they wanted to meet.

When I ask the graduates of the school in the Beirut mine how this form of instruction differs from any in which they had participated, I hear a uniform answer: that it was different as to the level and the actuality of interest of the subject matter of classes.

"Every party member should undergo such an instruction," states comrade Jozef Knak. "I learned many new things, not so much about the duties of a party member, since I have belonged to PZPR too long not to know them, as about history, for instance, about the causes of our crises, about economic reform. All this was taught realistically including problems connected directly with our province. This gives a greater freedom when one talks with people in the hall."

Comrade Roman Klamski, who 2 months after graduating from high school was elected first secretary of his district party organization [OOP], stresses the high level of lectures. "There were no questions," he says, "to which we would not receive answers. I personally find very useful the information which I gained in the course when, for instance, a discussion takes place on the topic of responsibility of past leaders, or conversations about facts of history popularized by the opposition with the opposition's own interpretation after August. I also consider the classes in the history of the workers' movement to be very precious. It also seems to me that this instruction brings interest in the form of discussion activity at party meetings. We gained knowledge which facilitates formulations of one's own opinions."

In the basic party organization of the railroad department it was decided that the executive will direct to school first of all group party members. This manner of utilizing the instruction by the members of the organization in WOKI [Provincial Center of Ideological Training] was dictated by the opinion about the classes which comrade Jerzy Gnatowski, secretary of the

basic party organization and participant of one of the first tour periods, transmitted. The correctness of this decision was confirmed by the fact that the work of these groups directed by school graduates became more activated.

Comrade Gnatowski justifies his views: they carry out with them first-hand experience, in discussion, and rich documentation materials which facilitates talking about things touched upon by comrades in their groups, and it is known that these matters are a reflection of conversations which the party members should conduct with colleagues on a daily basis at work.

These several opinions speak a little about the methodology of classes conducted in the School for Workers' Aktiv. The high level of lectures is the result of starting a cooperation with the Higher Studies of Social Sciences [WSNS], the Silesian Scientific Institute in Opole, local institutions of higher learning, people responsible for particular fields of life in the province. Current questionnaires allow to evaluate the usefulness and predisposition of the lectures. As a result of student evaluation, some were dropped.

The majority of classes are recitations. The ironclad rule kept by all lecturers is that there are no taboo topics. Sociohistorical subjects dominated the first four periods, particularly the topic of the causes of crises, the war and the [German] occupation, the history of interwar Poland, and Polish-Soviet relations. Later on, the interests of the students were closer to sociolegal, government and ideological issues. The last period before the vacations displayed an increase in interest in the problems of coming out of the crisis, and in the economic reform: in this domain the questions concerned concrete situations in the work establishments. The visit of the pope set a livelier discussion of the worldview, state-Church relations and international problems.

The experience of the organizers of the instructional program shows also that awakening the students to become active during classes is due to taking up in discussion the most controversial of the planned topics in the first days of each session group. A careful observation of the course of instruction suggested also another organizational trick. This refers to the manner of recruiting for course participation. During the first sessions it was observed that a part of those sent by plant echelons reached the school rather accidentally, and that they do not display any will to participate in classes. Two sessions groups were then organized for basic party organization secretaries and for Plant Committees so that they would see what such system of instruction would give. A double effect was achieved--the secretaries made their political knowledge more profound and they cared better to direct those comrades to the school who after completing the instruction will in fact support the work of the party organization in the milieu.

However, the desired activity depends on the individual wish of the graduate of the course, and on the situation in which he will have an opportunity to use the knowledge gained in classes. It may but need not be utilized in the work of party organizations. But it is in the interest of the executive of the district party organization to utilize to the fullest the abilities of

the comrades whom it had sent to school. The more so that real possibilities do not allow all members of party organization the luxury of participation in such classes. And this is why it is necessary for their OOP to assign concrete tasks which obligate them to utilize in practice the abilities gained in instruction for perfecting the political work of their OOP district party organization, the provincial party organization or plant committees. Comrades from the mine confirm my observations, proposing still another form, and that is to direct comrades to school as originally intended for using their knowledge after the course. An example of this method may be if only the decision of the basic party organization of the railroad department about making use of possibilities which SzaR offered in raising the standard of party group work.

It turns out that journalistic observations made in one milieu found their expression in a probing questionnaire which after a year of experience was distributed by the instruction organizers to the group of 200 graduates during a meeting with them in the Regional Centers of Party Work. This was an answer to the suggestion that education be continued. Coming back to the questionnaire's result, it shows that only 36 percent of graduates received party tasks after the course. It results from it, too, that the degree of personal involvement of the graduates in intense political activity increased after graduating from school; some of them were elected POP or OOP secretaries, many joined the activity of new trade unions, some were elected union group leaders, and it happens that students participate in the text consultations at plenary meetings of plant committees, join the work of problem team and control activity.

It is also necessary to say that joining the work of nonparty members group of the School for Workers' Aktiv, the activists of trade unions, the ZSMP workers' self government, and also an organization of a common group session before the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee for party members in workers' and country milieus turned out to be positive experiences.

Over a year's experience from the school will be utilized in perfecting this form of schooling after vacation break.

9971  
CSO: 2600/1240

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Pila Province Plenum

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by bas: "Intervention Needed at the Source"]

[Text] During the plenary session of the Pila PZPR Provincial Committee which took place yesterday, an important issue of social significance was raised. It was the issue of letters, complaints, proposals and demands by citizens that was adopted as the initial thesis of a report by the executive board of the Provincial Committee that society's opinion regarding the party is formed not only on the basis of resolutions, congresses and plenary sessions of party echelons, but mostly on the basis of how various government agencies respond to the average citizen and his apparently small problems raised at the place where he works.

In general, suggestions and proposals submitted by residents in the province last year fall into two categories. The first category included all the problems which reflect the continuing crisis. They pertained to the shortages in supply of building materials, agricultural machinery and general merchandise and housing and community development.

The second category included mostly the irregularities and difficulties people are encountering at the factory and other offices. This discussion was opened by first secretary of the Pila party Provincial Committee, Michal Niedzwiedz. In the opening remarks he shared his thoughts with those present and emphasized that solutions to the problems and complaints of the citizens must be the primary objective of Marxist-Leninist work. He ascribed a big role to the trade unions in responding to and neutralizing conflicts and pointed out that whenever unions responded without delay, the number of intervention cases sent to higher authority diminished.

During several hours of discussion participants of the plenum raised many problems and supplemented materials submitted in the report of the executive board. They stressed that the best way to deal with intervention cases is to eliminate the conflict at its source--getting at the heart of the matter instead of applying partial solutions in specific cases. Those who spoke in the discussion included Col Marian Kot, director of the Bureau of Letters of the PZPR Central Committee.

At the end the Pila plenum session, a resolution, which precisely described the tasks for party organizations and administrative units in the system of examining complaints and proposals of citizens, was adopted. It was ascertained that the resolutions of the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee were disseminated and carried out by a majority of the party organizations in the province.

Lomza Province Plenum

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 14 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by klos: "Citizens' Complaints in Party Evolution"]

[Text] The 10th Plenum of the party Provincial Committee took place yesterday in the city of Lomza, under the chairmanship of the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Comrade Włodzimierz Michaluk. The participants included: member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, Albin Siwak; member of the Central Committee, Witold Malinowski; member of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission], Krystyna Kostko; head of the Provincial Peoples Council, Zygmunt Grygo; Governor Jerzy Zientara; and plenipotentiary of the KDK [National Defense Committee], Col Stefan Kolasa.

The session was devoted to assessing party activities within the units of the state administration that provide service to the community. In his opening remarks, Comrade Włodzimierz Michaluk stated that the reason for raising this subject at the plenary session was the continuing concern of the party about the welfare of the community.

Yesterday's session was carefully prepared. It was proceeded by regional party meetings with lower echelon first secretaries that took place during April, and then by the end of April and the beginning of May during the meetings of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] in the territorial units of state administration, Cooperative Banks, Gmina [parish] Cooperatives [GS] and Agricultural Circles Cooperative, the work of these units assessed with respect to services to the customers. By 15 May, inspections of these organizations took place. An analysis of the submitted complaints and collected proposals were used to prepare for the plenary session of the Provincial Committee (KW). This problem needs an analysis by the Party. In his report the secretary of the KW PZPR, Mieczyslaw Gorski, stated that the Party, through its members and basic elements, should be the spokesman of its community, understand the people's feelings and be able to communicate with society in a simple and understandable manner. Acting openly and decisively against any social wrongdoing, caring for the people, responding to their troubles and honestly treating each matter are the moral as well as political duties of a party member. Fulfillment of these duties depends in large measure on accelerating the stabilization processes, restoring belief in the effectiveness of party actions and strengthening bonds between the party and society. The results, in the form of distributing tasks, jurisdictions and methods of action between the party and state administrative elements, stem from this party leadership. The party cannot and should not replace anybody, Comrade Gorski asserted. The leading role of the party in industry, offices, institutions, and villages should be fulfilled by its members organized in the basic

party elements. It is the duty of each member to create conditions for the office work to run smoothly and for a pleasant atmosphere and a feeling of trust in the workers' collective groups.

Party organizations in the units which serve the community--by adjusting the forms of their activity to specific tasks of workers' groups--must mobilize numerous groups of workers for completely and efficiently fulfilling the tasks. It is necessary to perceive the need for improving vocational skills, because this will lead to strengthening the cadre and raising the standard and effectiveness of the work. The latest inspections conducted by the Party Provincial Committees, and Branch Party Organizations in the territorial administrative elements, as well as evaluations made by the executive boards and basic echelons, showed a lot of deficiencies in the work of many basic party organizations, including those in the Cooperative Banks in Zbojna and Grajewo, Agricultural Circles Cooperative in Szumowo, Gmina Cooperative in Stawiski and Gmina Office of Administration in Wasosz. They did not even prepare working plans.

Party Committees often analyze the work of units providing services and territorial administrative units. This analysis pertains, most frequently, to the fulfillment of economic tasks, whereas only very superficial analysis of the work of the party organizations is done. Generally, no specific party tasks are formulated. It also happens that party activists have difficulties in taking time off in order to attend executive board sessions of the Gmina Committee. It needs to be emphasized, stated Comrade Gorski, that the plant manager who is a party member himself or was appointed on the basis of a party recommendation must be coresponsible for the political-social status of his unit. If he does not feel responsible however, he must be aware that this recommendation might be withdrawn at any time.

Besides difficulties and shortcomings in the activities of the basic party organizations, there are also strong indications of improvement in the situation, according to Comrade Gorski. They include the holding of more regular meetings, better planning and programming of work, diminishing absenteeism and better utilization of interparty and ideological-political information.

This year the Provincial party Committee has received 75 complaints regarding the work of the state administration, of which 71 pertained to the distribution of agricultural machinery. A similar situation occurred in the provincial office of administration. An example how not to examine complaints was given by Warsaw University's Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Management, which in response to a complaint sent a standard reply reproduced on a mimeograph machine. The party Provincial Committee received also approximately 200 verbal complaints, and many deficiencies were indicated in the inspections by the Military Operational Groups.

Actions taken by the party Provincial Committee, territorial administrative units, Military Operational Groups and allied organizations have improved the operations of the organs of administration. It appears that more effective action is being taken in response to complaints and grievances, and consumers are being provided with better service. The number of complaints being sent to the Provincial Committee and lower echelons is diminishing. The number of appeals from decisions by territorial organs of administration is also decreasing. A similar situation is indicated in the village cooperatives.

During the discussions, it was often said that every complaint and every sign of public dissatisfaction with the conduct of the administration office must be examined carefully, deeply and individually. A big role in this process shall be played by the party organizations working mainly within the institutions rendering services to the community. They should encourage faster and more broad examination and resolving of complaints in accordance with the norms of social coexistence. Analysis of the complaints and the way they are solved should be systematically evaluated at the sessions of the People's Councils, self-governing organs and open sessions of POP in the work establishments. During the session, speeches were made by: Antoni Conrad; Stanislaw Boratynski; Franciszek Mariak; Zygmunt Skrodzki; Jerzy Laskowski; Jan Dabrowski; Maria Chaberek, Mieczyslaw Drozdowski; Miroslaw Szalunas; Henryk Wilczek; and Aleksander Jankowski.

Summarizing the discussion, Comrade Albin Siwak stated, among other things, that everybody is equal in the eyes of the law and therefore should be equally treated. Much more attention should be paid to all complaints and suggestions, because we should listen to the voice of the people, be guided by it and take an appropriate attitude toward it. Party organizations must play an important role in exposing irregularities taking place in the communities. It often happens that the criticized organs of administration, finding methods for correcting the errors, waste energy on finding the person who filed the complaint.

Comrade Siwak informed those present about the activities of the Commission for Complaints and Grievances, of which he is the chairman. He has also informed participants about some aspects of the socioeconomic and political situation in the country.

The plenary session approved a resolution specifying the direction of party activities in units within the state administration and institutions providing services to the community.

#### Sieradz Province Plenum

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 1

[Article: "PZPR Provincial Committee in Sieradz With the Participation of Central Committee's [CC] Political Bureau Member S. Olszowski; Struggle Against All That Draws Us Backward"]

[Text] The Plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Sieradz took place on Saturday, the 9th of this month. The session was attended by member of the Politburo of the CC PZPR, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Peoples' Republic, Stefan Olszowski. The objective of the plenum was to define the tasks for party echelons and organizations in the light of the current social-political situation and the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee.

The report, on behalf of the executive board of the Provincial Committee, was delivered by first secretary of the KW PZPR in Sieradz, Janusz Urbaniak who also acted as a chairman. The theme of his report was, in accordance with the

major objective of the 9th Congress, the broadly understood national accord, based on socialist organizational principles, and relentless party struggle against the forces which are preventing progress.

This struggle is taking place on many fronts: economical, political, ideological, social, educational and organizational.

In a discussion which lasted several hours, 15 comrades took the floor. They broadly viewed the effective action against the extensive consequences of the social and the economic crisis in the country. They regarded, as a key element in these efforts, aggressive action by the party, rebuilding and consolidating the authority of basic party organizations and echelons, and obtaining, for its policy, all those people who care about the good of the country.

In a lengthy speech delivered at the Sieradz plenary session, member of the Politburo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski discussed the present sociopolitical and economic situation of the country and characterized the efforts of state authorities in support of regaining the international prestige of Poland.

12506  
CSO: 2600/1177

GOVERNMENT OFFICES ISSUE ORDERS

Youth Research Institute Created

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 26, 5 Aug 83 p 231 Item 144

[Order No 25 of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, 21 July 1983, on the creation of a Youth Problems Research Institute]

[Text] Based on art 4, par 1, of the 17 February 1961 law on scientific-research institutes (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1975, No 7 item 41), it is orders as follows:

§ 1. 1. An Institute for Youth Problems Research, hereinafter called "Institute", is created.

2. The Institute is established by transforming the Youth Research Institute.

3. The Institute's headquarters are in Warsaw.

4. The Institute may form local branches.

§ 2. 1. The subject of the Institute's activity is the initiation and conduct of scientific-research, development and applications work pertaining to youth affairs on a national scale, for the purpose of recognizing youth's problems and aims, and to inform state organs and public opinion on conditions for the development of the young generation and their economic, cultural and educational needs.

2. The Institute's primary tasks include:

1) initiating and conducting scientific research pertaining to the vital problems of the young generation,

2) conducting comparative studies on youth in the industrialized countries, with particular consideration to the socialist countries,

3) collecting and evaluating results of scientific research on youth problems, as produced by other organizational units conducting scientific-research activity,

4) preparing current reports and information on results of research on youth problems in Poland and in the world and presenting them to the organs of authority and state administration, the leaders of political and social organizations, and particularly to the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth Affairs and to the Minister-Member

of the Council of Ministers on Youth Affairs, hereinafter called "Minister", and also to the socialist youth unions.

5) improving the knowledge of the scientific cadres specializing in scientific-research problems affecting youth,

6) undertaking and implementing scientific-research tasks and professional reports as instructed from time-to-time by the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth Affairs or the Minister, including survey studies.

§ 3. The Institute accomplishes its tasks by:

1) initiating, organizing and conducting, within its own purview, scientific-research, development and applications work mainly of an interdisciplinary nature, with the participation of pedagogues, psychologists, sociologists, economists, politologues, and representatives of other scientific disciplines,

2) cooperating with individuals of the ministerial scientific-research facilities who concern themselves with youth affairs, youth and socio-occupational organizations and other scientific organizations here and abroad who are involved in similar activity,

3) collecting and preparing information and documentation connected with the Institute's activity and scientific research concerning youth problems conducted here and abroad,

4) preparing analyses and reports in accordance with the subject range established by the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth Affairs and the Minister,

5) organizing scientific meetings and conferences, participation in consultations and national and foreign congresses on subjects relating to the Institute's activity.

6) publishing and disseminating the results of scientific-research work.

§ 4. The detailed scope of the activity of the Institute and its organs is defined in the statute granted by the Minister in coordination with the Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

§ 5. The Institute is supervised by the Minister in coordination with the Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

§ 6. The Institute's expenditures and incomes are included in that part of the central budget that pertains to the Office of the Council of Ministers.

§ 7. The Institute assumes the assets and the rights and obligations of the Youth Research Institute.

§ 8. In connection with art 6, point 3 of the 12 April 1973 law on a change in the regulations affecting scientific degrees and titles and scientific-research institutes (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 12 item 89), Council of Ministers Resolution No 163, dated

15 June 1972 on the creation of a Youth Research Institute (MONITOR POLSKI No 32, item 177) is no longer in force.

§ 9. The order becomes effective on the date of publication and is in force as of 1 July 1983.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: General of the Army W. Jaruzelski

### Ban on Photographing Buildings

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 26, 5 Aug 83 p 231-232 Item 145

[Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs, dated 29 June 1982, specifying the design (attached to the Order) and method of marking buildings which may not be photographed, filmed, sketched, or drawn without permission for reasons of State secrecy]

[Text] Based on art 17, par 2 of the 14 December 1982 law on safeguarding State and official secrets (DZIENNIK USTAW No 40, item 271) it is ordered as follows:

§ 1. For the purpose of marking buildings which may not be photographed, filmed, sketched, or drawn without permission in the Polish People's Republic for reasons of State secrecy, the design of the sign banning the photography, as attached to the Order, is established.

§ 2. 1. The banning sign is a white, rectangular board, 50 cm wide and 40 cm high, with a 5 cm wide red border. In the center of the board is a drawing of a camera, measuring 20 by 15 cm, in black, which is diagonally intersected by lines 2 cm wide and 30 cm long, in red. Under the drawing of the camera in letters 4 cm high the words "No Photography" appear.

2. The board should be made of durable, weather-resistant materials which will guarantee legibility of the sign.

§ 3. 1. The banning signs should be located in places which will guarantee their visibility.

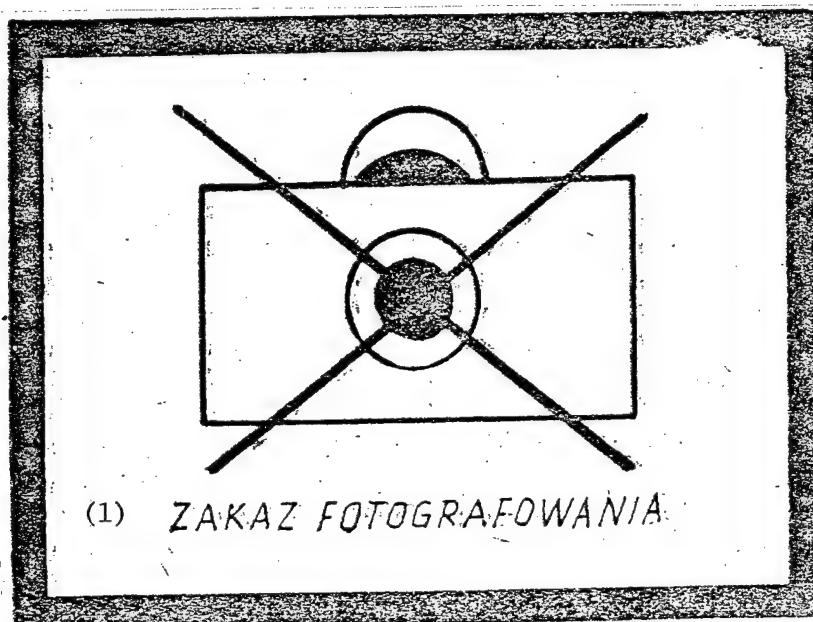
2. The placement of the signs should unequivocally ensure the compulsoriness of the ban on photographing, filming, sketching or drawing the buildings or areas (as regards the entire building or area).

3. If the ban on photographing, filming, sketching or drawing applies to specific sections or parts of buildings, these should be marked separately.

§ 4. The order becomes effective on the date of publication and is in force as of 1 July 1983.

Minister of Internal Affairs: C. Kiszcza

[Reproduction of banning sign sketch on following page]



Key:

1. No Photographing

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PROBLEMS OF SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN MONTENEGRO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVIJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 83 p 5

/Article by Bogic Lj. Femic, parish priest, Bar/

/Text/ Recently, we wrote about the grave personnel situation in the Metropolitanate of Montenegro and the Littoral. There are several cities, towns and villages in which there are no orthodox priests and the ringing of bells are not heard on Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, St. Sava's Day or other church holidays.

The churches in these cities, towns and villages have been abandoned to the vicissitudes of time, and the majority are closed. Once, national assemblies were held before these churches, where our glorious forefathers gathered and talked of the national traditions embued with a living faith and freedom-loving spirit. Now, weeds and grass grow there, and the church bells have long been silent.

The few remaining priests work under great psychological depression, because without fraternal meetings, which do not exist outside of the Association of Priests, it can be freely said that they are abandoned to God and themselves, without any support.

The Serbian Church in Montenegro cannot be compared with any other religious association, nor with any kind of newly created cult. It can only be compared with a wounded or exhausted soldier, who lies in some weeds on a battlefield, groaning and incessantly seeking help. It could be compared with an old ship, which runs aground on the high seas, where it is unceasingly rocked by the winds and pummeled by the waves. This old "St. Sava" signals and plays in vain. No one comes to rescue and direct it to calmer waters.

We Serb priests in Montenegro find ourselves exposed to these chilly winds, because it is very difficult to determine from where these north winds and storms blow.

Our church-going public has had the occasion to acquaint itself with how many churches have been destroyed on the Montenegrin Littoral, and especially in Serbian Orthodox Church territories in the commune of Bar. We have stressed how the main problem is the obtaining a location for the construction of a new cathedral in Bar.

We have mentioned the various parochialisms and hindrances of administrative personnel. We hoped that these sectarians would once and for all leave us in peace, because the Metropolitan had sought an audience with the first man of Montenegro, the president of the Presidium, Vesselin Djuranovic, where he acquainted him with the problems in the Eparchy, and especially in Bar. But for now, nothing positive has emerged from this meeting. On the contrary--the parochialisms and hindrances of administrative personnel have been transformed into open and sharp pressure. Various threats have been sent, the Church Council has been slighted, everything has been propagated against the clergy, because the clergy must be at all costs alienated and in this way separated from the people. For various sectarians, the recitation of children on St Sava's Day is not only something negative--but is considered as a hostile act, and religious instruction dare not be mentioned. We do not suffer because we cannot organize disco clubs, film competitions and sports for young believers, as is the case in some of our republics, but we do suffer because of the abandonment and destruction of shrines, which we have attempted to repair, but cannot.

We wish to protect that which the church of St Sava has left us as a testament, but it is not possible for us to do this here. The greatest tragedy for us is that the foundations laid by St Sava in Montenegro are being torn down and destroyed in front of all of us.

Several religious structures have been erected in many of our republics and provinces, while in Montenegro, only the church in Prcanj near Kotor has been built. There, where toleration and honor exist, sectarians have been stopped, and they are openly condemned for creating an unhealthy climate and disturbing relations between the Church and public associations. In some areas individual organs solve problems positively, because they clarify matters so that both sides are satisfied.

When we, because of the difficult situation caused by the earthquake, requested the communal assembly in Bar to help and grant us 500 to 600 square meters of land for the church site, it not only promised, but convinced His Highness, Metropolitan Danilo, that this would be no problem. Later, these administrators took up different positions and others came, who acted as if they simply knew nothing about this. We appealed both in written and oral form but to no avail.

The courtyard in front of the church's doors and parish house was taken away from the church parish. We went to court, where we succeeded in proving by the aid of witnesses that the contested land was that of the church parish. In the summary judgement of 25 December 1981 this was said, "The Serbian Orthodox Church in Bar has achieved its rights on two grounds: first, as an earlier gift from government authorities, and second, because it has held it for several years." The communal attorney was not satisfied with this summary judgement and lodged a complaint to the District Court in Titograd, where the judgement was overridden and the case returned for another trial.

The same judge presided the second time, and without any new proof or arguments he issued in The Name of the People a second summary judgement according to which we lost the case and the land went to the Commune of Bar.

We then appealed to the District Court in Titograd, where our petition was at once lost, and when with great effort we sought it, it was then found. Then, after a certain period of time a summary judgement was given which upheld that of the court in Bar and we lost the case. We no longer had the possibility of appeal but through our attorneys sought a revision or permission to renew the procedure, because the oldest individuals from the three religions told us that they remembered the land being in the possession of the church of St Nicholas since 1912. They said that they were prepared to testify and if necessary to swear to any judge that that land had been used only for church purposes for as long as they could remember.

The land was taken from the church, allegedly because according to aerial photographs it had not been fenced off. We could not fence off church property because we did not have the means to do so. Besides, it was not necessary since that land served exclusively as the cathedral's parking lot, as well as the courtyard in front of the parish house. There is no private or public property in the direct vicinity of this land, all belongs to the Orthodox parish of Bar. Only the Bar-Ulcinj road passes through there, which is an old road and the parcel of land has never been used for the road. An expert surveyor testified to this in court. The communal assembly of Bar does not need the disputed land, but now claims this is the usurpation of public property. Some of our sectarians have feverishly joined in this action because this is the easiest way for them to show that the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bar is a usurper and that it is necessary to take that land in order to prove that this action is fruitful and successful.

The Serbian Orthodox is not a usurper, neither in Bar nor anywhere in the country, and never will be because if one measures how much it has been hurt in the past and present, then it can be concluded how much it would hurt or usurp others. Our members in Bar who are acquainted with this problem are very worried and rightfully ask: "How is it possible to strip the Church of an entrance way of 292 square meters which has belonged to it from the days of independent Montenegro and old Yugoslavia until today? After all, that is the entrance to a parish house which is more than a hundred years old. How is it possible that individuals can simply compete in sectarianism and for years without end attack the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Church Council and its priests as if there is not law which guarantees human rights and religious freedoms? How is it possible that these individual sectarians are engaged in such an insignificant matter, instead of protecting public property where there are real usurpers? Is it because millions of dinars are in question?

For whom is that space in front of the cathedral and parish house necessary for parking trucks and storing various materials: gravel, sand, blocks, stones; which makes a huge mess in front of the Serbian Orthodox Church and diminishes its demeanor as a religious and cultural-historical monument?

Yet, the ill will is greater still. The communal enterprise from Bar has placed its own guards at the Orthodox cemetery, "Gvozden Brijeg," who have cut down several green cypresses and about 40 olive trees, causing the parish great material loss. We have contacted both the communal enterprise and other organs several times about this, both orally and on paper, but, unfortunately, to no avail.

The Church Council has notified the Eparchy of Montenegro and the Littoral in Cetinje about all of this. We have complained about the problems and difficulties which the sectarians, found in responsible positions, are causing us day in and day out. We have also informed it that our churches are not found on the renovation list of the Republic's Fund as are the sanctuaries of other religious associations. There are three churches on the list for which only minor repairs are anticipated, but they are in ruins. The old churches from the days of Balsic and Crnojevic as well as St Nicholas Cathedral are not even on the list.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MEMOIRS BY KOPINIC REVIEWED UNFAVORABLY

Jaksic in Literary Journal

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 670, 19 May 83 pp 33-34

[Review by Bozidar Jaksic of the book "Enigma Kopinic" by Vjenceslav Cencic, 2 vols., Rad, Belgrade, 1983]

[Text] It can be either good or bad luck for a book if there is much publicity about it--which is often superfluous--before it winds up in the hands of the reader. Favorable, sometimes fortunate circumstances, are those in which the book is anticipated with a strong dose of intellectual curiosity. This is especially important for the author and publisher, and if the book is worthwhile, for the reader; this is the case with Isakovic's "Tren 2." Such books are analyzed much more carefully and critically than is normally the case, and it is possible that there will be little room left for objective evaluation. With Vjenceslav Cencic's book "Enigma Kopinic," it is as if the author himself made an effort to have a commercially appealing title: by publishing parts of the conversations with Kopinic, he has created an atmosphere which makes it difficult to form a rational judgement. Of course isolated statements by Kopinic himself have also contributed to this, as well as the brisk talks subsequently about individual activities and events, mostly about another book --Dedijer's "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza," and the Kerestinac tratedy which involved progressive intellectuals and communists. Finally, the harsh reviews by some political leaders, to a part which had just been made public, seemed to encompass the range of circumstances in which irrational emotions, fears, and above all, personal interests, made public discourse impossible. One can then ask whether in these circumstances, in the already nervous public and intellectual life of contemporary Yugoslav society, an impartial and objective review of "Enigma Kopinic" is possible.

In searching for an answer to the question as to whether or not an "enigma of Kopinic" really exists, perhaps one might do well to consider what causes this riddle, and of what does it consist. The book has two volumes; the first contains details of Kopinic's biography and his activities, predominantly in intelligence, until the end of 1941. These details are given only to the extent that this capable intelligence officer wanted "to reveal" them to the public by means of his talks with Cencic. The focus of the first book is in describing the conflicts between Kopinic and the leadership of the

Communist Party of Croatia [CPC] concerning activities after Hitler had attacked the USSR, and the responsibility for the failed rescue mission in Kerestinac. The second, much shorter book, begins with the meeting between Kopinic and Tito in Rogatica at the beginning of 1942, and concludes with a short look at their last meetings in the late 1970's. In the appendix to the second volume there is a list of several dozen documents of quite diverse origin and value.

Of course, the reader will be interested in the part of the memoirs which deal with Kopinic's activities in the area of Quisling structures created on Yugoslav territory. From occupied Zagreb, Kopinic sent his superiors the usual intelligence and his helpers in Moscow a torrent of information by radio, he transmitted statements by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] to the Comintern, and Comintern orders to the leadership, and performed the same job for several other communist parties. He had collaborators among the communists, but he even recruited people among the ustashes and German officers to gather information for him. After the Germans attacked the USSR, he hurried the leadership of the CPC to organize sabotage and armed actions in order to obstruct the advance and supply of the German forces on USSR soil. He also took on part of the work of the Srebrenjak Soviet Military Intelligence Center in Zagreb.

The reader will pay particular attention to those pages dealing with the unsuccessful act of liberating the progressive intellectuals and communists from the ustasha camp in Kerestinac, as well as with his conflict with the CPC leadership. Kopinic's thesis is that the leaders inadmissably hesitated (which made him want to replace them), and he therefore tied in with the Local Committee of the CPC in Zagreb, and with their help organized a rescue attempt which had catastrophic results. But, "...it is better to be killed as a hero than to be slaughtered like sheep for every telegraph pole knocked over." The CPC was severely censured because of the failure of this action, individuals were punished, and the demand came from Moscow that even Kopinic be punished. The Comintern, however, showed complete faith in Josip Broz and Josip Kopinic, which was quite understandable because Soviet interests at this time were not to renounce the services of a capable intelligence officer, because of his conflict with political opponents "somewhere in the Balkans," who represented precisely those interests.

In any case, it is certain that "Enigma Kopinic" will be accompanied by a lavishly worked out advertising program to provoke the interest of the reader both with its interesting content and with its unsaid, unwritten, elements. Many rather trivial discrepancies, and even confused explanations, leave room for the work of imagination. The author must be given credit for the patient note-taking of many years, and persistence, and even a certain conciseness in the manner of presentation, which is disrupted by the repetition of documented material. This is journalism which is a cut above the usual "spy story." The book is especially interesting as a source--and this is one of its important theses--of information about the ascertained, and up to now little known, friendship with Josip Broz.. Finally, the enduring value of Cencic's book is in destroying the myths of monolithic unity, in giving evidence about the role of "the state motive" in human destinies, in showing the

existence of base government, group, and even personal interests in the guiding political structures which have continually strived to give the impression of "complete ideological, political, and operative unity." In this regard, Cencic's work is one of those books which can help straighten out the illusion of the democratization of social consciousness as well.

Cencic's work discloses several important problems. For example, in events taking place around Kopinic there are intelligence and underground work, agencies, police, diplomacy, reports of the activities of the political leaderships of the Party on all levels, activities of the Comintern, solely without national regard. Moreover, the work of communists is reduced to the work of the party leaders. Kopinic does not see anything unusual in the fact that he quarrels with the Croatian party leadership only after Hitler's attack on the USSR. He also suggests a direct connection between the decision of the CPY leadership to organize the uprising on 4 July, 1941 with Stalin's speech on 3 July, the first public appearance after the shock brought on by Hitler's "treachery." He placed a struggle whose goal was to help the Soviet Union above the struggle of his own nation. To support this position, Kopinic quotes Tito's letter to the CPC leadership on 14 July, 1941: "Comrades! Stop all personal bickering and the like, concentrate all your forces in the struggle to help the USSR and in the struggle for liberation from the odious occupier." In addition to this reference there is Tito's promise to Moscow that in the event of an attack on the USSR he would organize an armed uprising: "Especially since I had promised Stalin that we would immediately start the uprising." It seems as if there is in Kopinic's perception of historical events, in principle, a kind of volunteerism which is widespread in hisotographic and journalistic literature. To this kind of political volunteerism, in which the people are "called" to revolution, and even "answer," Kopinic adds the "intelligence dimension" with the thesis that the intelligence channel "pushed" one political leadership (CPC) on the path of armed struggle, while the other (CPY) was set on this path because it promised it would do so when and if Hitler attacked the USSR. It is not important whether or not Kopinic's thesis is accurate here. The fact is that by 22 June Yugoslavia had already been routed and defeated militarily, and broken up and humiliated politically, that the people of Yugoslavia--above all, those upon whom religious and national animosities had been cast with all their force--were motivated by patriotism, by the striving to resist, by existential need, by genocide in extreme cases which provoked a thirst for revenge and stimulated an instinct for autonomy, that they had already offered serious resistance to the occupiers and their domestic assistants, that both armed and unarmed they had perished in Bosanska Krajina, eastern Hercegovina, Lika, in Kordun and Banija, that the political decision by the CPY leadership on 4 July had sanctioned one state of realities and expressed a widespread, national mood, as if to demonstrate convincingly another, more important course of events. Of course, this is not to negate the historic merit of the CPY, which, of all the political parties in Yugoslavia between the wars had showed the most vitality and ability to function under conditions of occupation, to articulate politically a state of hopelessness imbued with a national striving to resist, to organize politically the nation to fight for themselves and their freedom, and to give the struggle a definite political direction.

Kopinic is a communist who was born in Yugoslavia. Several other Yugoslav communists helped him in his work. These collaborators of his, as was the rule, broke off all contact with their party organizations: "They did this to avoid the possibility that the bourgeois regimes, by revealing such activities, could prove that the communist parties were the agents of Moscow." The fact that the Communist Party fled before the bourgeois regimes is something that Kopinic in his memoirs, neither wished for nor tried to avoid. He cites the names of people who were part of the leadership with whom he collaborated, as well as the names of those whom he suspected. And here, the basic problem is not whether all of this was even the way Kopinic describes it now, or not. Regardless of whether or not the reader duly believes him, he soberly reflects about the sad fate of those people who place the interests of their second homeland above the interests of their first homeland, and the human ideals which are the same all over, but which everyone must choose for himself in his own way. The prerequisites for the successful Yugoslav struggle against fascism were created on the soil of Yugoslavia, and not in the international intelligence and political centers, no matter how well organized they were. Lives in which this order of things are changed always border on sorrow.

It is not likely that Cencic's book of Kopinic's memoirs will be a source of inspiration for historians. Its basis for documentation is not suitable for systematic research. Research knowledge is broader and deeper today. For researchers, then, the "Enigma Kopinic" will remain what it is--a part of the testimony of an exciting life and a difficult time. For the generations of public workers who were participants in the events described, the book will probably be an object for debates, but these will be discussions which will take place "in the family," to which new generations will not be able to contribute any important new perceptions. These discussions will probably increase the circulation of the book, but not its value.

#### Maric in Popular Biweekly

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 243, 18 Jun 83 p 39

[Article by Milomir Maric: "The Spy Who Loved Us"]

[Text] The nature of his job and his way of life were such that there is no proof that he actually existed. Even now, then, we should not expect to see the real Josip Kopinic.

Hardly anything can be read between the lines of Vjenceslav Cencic's book "Enigma Kopinic" [The Kopinic Riddle]. The writer, who is an admirer, remains confused like a schoolboy before his idol throughout two large volumes. Sometimes his idol seems to him great altogether without reason, and when he actually is great, he has already moved far away from him and is no longer able to see him, much less see him whole.

And certain others, more powerful and sober, behave toward Kopinic like the worst kind of bunglers. Obviously for certain special and mysterious reasons. He is to them neither an idol nor a competitor. They are certain that he will never say and will never dare say what he might, and yet they seem to be in a panic, as though they were being crushed in his fist.

A kind of general strategy seems to take shape in the numerous newspaper reviews. One is supposed to be against Kopinic, but not much. More, if possible, on the basis of high principle and historical scholarship. He should be shaken a bit and pulled onto thin ice, but care should be taken not to offend him and make him angry.

Kopinic himself has perhaps still greater problems. He does not understand anything at all: he was always someone else. A noncommissioned officer on a submarine, a fighter in Spain who is not recalled by any one of our own fighters in Spain, a distinguished official without an official post in the Comintern. He was certainly something more than an undercover radio and telegraph operator in Zagreb, something more than a sales representative in Turkey, something more than director of an enterprise in Pula and Ljubljana. It is difficult to believe that even today he is only a pensioner in Pula who every morning goes to the market and buys his wife groceries for lunch.

To eliminate all misunderstandings, a huge Red Star still stands like a religious symbol on his house, which is right on the seashore.

We do not know how he became a Soviet intelligence agent. We do not know how he came to be in Moscow. We do not know when he went and what he actually did in Spain, all Cencic can say of him is that with some 50 Spanish words and a few French words which he confidently commanded he presented himself in Paris as the son of a Spanish marquis in order to smuggle some submarines following repairs through the German blockade. We do not know where he learned his marked aristocratic manners: perhaps in some Moscow dancing school.

A bit more probable version of Kopinic's dizzying climb to the summits of the Comintern and the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] begins with his packing the gold from the treasury of Republican Spain into a submarine and sending it, or himself taking it, to Moscow. That is, of course, the only thing missing in the book "Enigma Kopinic."

Karlo Stajner remembers that Kopinic did something important in what was called the dirty section of the Comintern. Vladimir Velebit learned just a year or 2 ago, although in the early years of the war they spent the entire day together and he did not remember Kopinic leaving the house very often, much less receiving guests, that he actually directed the antifascist movement in enslaved Central Europe, with a whispering in his ear from Moscow.

The historians say that they learn nothing new in the book "Enigma Kopinic" and what they have known for a long time was quite sufficient. This half-opened door to his store of knowledge could evoke unprecedented quandaries and bold fantasies in the minds of ordinary people, especially since they were convinced that they had managed to convince him that a revolution comes about when the productive forces and production relations are out of conformity with one another.

Whoever he worked for, Josip Kopinic is our man in all respects. He did not work in obscurity for a long time as an informer and was discovered, causing a great diplomatic scandal, was arrested in some court library, and was later exchanged for someone of theirs who, it appears, was ours. At that point,

secondhand goods and compromised, he did not settle down somewhere on the Cote d'Azur or in some dacha near Moscow and devote himself to his grandchildren and to writing his memoirs. Feeling that he was a bit neglected and with nothing to do, he subsequently discovered his talent for painting, which had been stifled, but not sufficiently.

He was from the beginning a true Balkan spy (Cencic is his D. Kovacevic). A spy who has a good heart and who is often able to mellow almost to the point of indecency and to show himself above all as a patriot and lover of his country, against all the rules of espionage. He is in any case probably the only likable NKVD man. He "hired on" when it was felt that doing anything whatever for the Soviet Union was not treason, but the greatest sacrifice and contribution to the happier future of one's own country. For a long time in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia all those who thought that it was a good thing for Yugoslavia to exist at all were regarded as the worst factionalists and traitors to world socialism and to their own people and in the service of the domestic and international bourgeoisie.

It seems to Josip Kopinic that he was our party's sponsor and reliable defender when it was called into question in Moscow before the war. Certain other Yugoslavs in the Comintern and NKVD felt the same thing at the time, but the lines which they took were eventually defeated. This is not exactly in line with historical science and common sense, but precisely for that reason it is quite possible that it was actually so.

Kopinic also wanted to resolve on his own our conflict on the literary left to Krleza's benefit, although it cannot be said that he read him or respected him. Tito allegedly told him: "Do not be naive. You know quite well how many divisions Stalin has. And what does Miroslav Krleza have?" Nor after the war was Kopinic's personal assessment heeded to the effect that Kardelj was "too much a freethinker, and perhaps even an anarchist, and that he ought to be watched carefully."

He was a member of a powerful organization, and he behaved in day-to-day politics like a private power center. There is no doubt that one of the many Josip Kopinic's is certainly in the book "Enigma Kopinic." But certainly not that one and only one!

That one was in his way so implicated in everything that now there is practically no evidence that he existed.

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